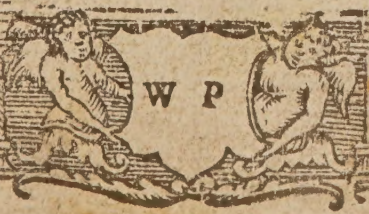
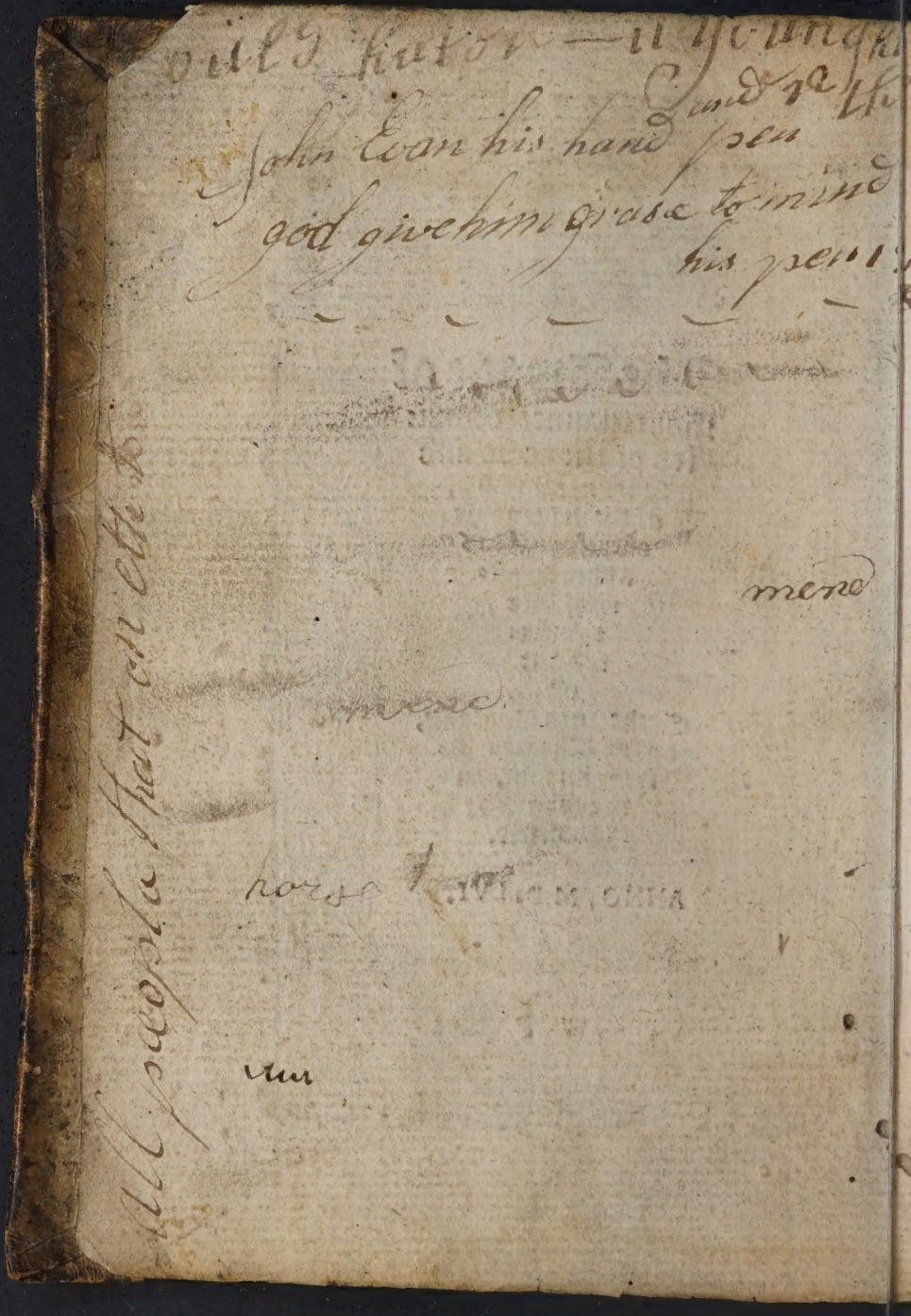
STC 7667

The Image of Gouernaunce compiled of the actes and sentences notable, of the most noble emperour Alexander Seuerus, late translated out of Greke into Englyshe, by sir Thomas Elyote knyght, in the fauour of Nobilitee.

ANNO. M.D. LVI.





¶ To all the nobilitee of this flouryshynge realme of Englande. Thomas Elyote knyght desyreth increase of vertue, and honoure.

AS I late was serchinge amonge my bokes, to fynde some argument, in the readynge whereof I mought recreate my spyrytes, beynge almost fatygate with the longe studye aboute the correctynge and ampliatyng of my Dictionarie, of Latin and Englyshe, I happened to fynde certeyne quayres of paper, whiche I had wrytten about nine yeres passed: wherein were conteigned the actes and sentences notable, of the moste noble Emperour Alexander, for his wysedome and grauitie called Seuerus, whiche boke was fyrst wrytten in the Greke tonge by his secretarie named Eucolpius, and by good chaunce was lente vnto

me by a gentill man of Naples called Pudericus. In readinge whereof I was marualouselie rauysched, and as it hath been euer mine appetyte, I wysched that it hadde been publyshed in suche a toungue, as moe men mought vnderstande it. Wherefore with all diligence I endeuoured my selfe whiles I had leysour, to translate it into englysche: all be it I coulde not so exactly performe mine enterprise, as I mought haue done, if the owner had not importunately called for his boke, wherby I was constreigned to leaue some part of the worke vntranslated: whiche I made vp, as well as I coulde, with some other Auctours, aswell latines as greekes, hauyng this booke in my haude I remembred, that in my booke named the Gouernour, I promysed to wryte a booke of the fourme of good gouernaunce: And for as muche as in this booke was expressed of gouernaunce so perfyte an image, I supposed, that I shoulde sufficiently discharge my selfe of my promyse, if I did now publiche this boke, which (excepte I be

much

muche deceiued) shall mynyster to the wise readers bothe pleasure and profyte. Then did I eftsoones peruse it, and with more exacte diligence conforme the stile thereof with the phrase of our englishe, desiryng more to make it playne to all readers, than to flourishe it with ouer muche eloquence. Which bake I doe dedicate vnto you noble lordes, gentyll knightes, and other in the state of honour, or worshyp, as beyng moste ready to be aduaunced to gouernaunce vnder your Prince: so that your vertues be correspondent vnto your fortune. yet am I not ignorant, that dyuers there be, whiche doe not thankfully esteme my labours, dispraysyng my studies as vayne and vnprofitable, saying in derision, that I haue nothyng wonne therby, but the name onely of a maker of bokes, and that I set the trees, but the Printer eateth the frutes. In deede although disdeigne and enuie dooe cause them to speake it, yet will I not denie, but that they saie truely: for if I wolde haue employed my studie aboute the increase of my

priuate commoditie, whiche I haue spent in wrytynge of bokes for others necessitee, fewe men doubte (I suppose) that dooe knowe me, but that I shulde haue atteygned ere this tyme to haue byn muche more welthy, and in respecte of the worlde in a more estimation. But to excuse me of follie, I wyll professe without arrogaunce, that when I consydered, that cunnynge continueth when fortune flytteth, hauing also ringynge alwaye in mine eare, the terrible checke that the good maister in the gospell gaue to his idell seruaunt, for hyding his money in a cloute, and not dysposynge it for his maisters aduauntage, those twoo wordes, *Serue nequam*, so steerred my spyrites, that it caused me to take more regarde to my laste reckenynge, then to anye rychesse or worldely promocion. And althoughe I dooe neyther dysputе nor expounde holy scrypture, yet in suche woorkes as I haue and entende to sette foorth, my poore talent shall be, Godde wyllinge, in suche wyse bestowed, that noe mans conscyence shall be therewith offen-

Mat. 8.

ded,

ded, my boke called the Gouernour, instructynge men in suche vertues as shall be expedyente for theym, whiche shal haue auctorite in a weale publike. The Doctrinall of Prynces, whiche are but the counsayles of wyse Isocrates, inducynge into noble mennes wyttes honest opinions. The Education of childrene, whiche also I translated out of the wyse Plutarche, makynge men and women, whiche wyll folowe those rules, to be well worthy to be fathers and mothers. The lyttle Pasquill, although he be mery and playne, teachynge aswell seruauntes howe to be faythfull vnto theyr maysters, as also maisters howe to be circumspecte in espying of flatterers. Semblablie the office of a good counsaylour with magnanimitie or good courage in tyme of aduersitie, maye bee apparauntly founded in my boke called, Of the knowledge belongynge to a wyse man. In readynge the sermon of saincte Cyprian by me translated, the deuout reader shall finde no lyttle comforte in plagues or calamities. The Banket of Sapience is not fastidi-

ouse, and in lyttle roume sheweth one of holie scrypture many wyse sentences. The Castell of healthy beynge truely read, shall longe preserue men (beyng some phisicions neuer so angrie) from perylouse syckenesse. My lyttle boke called the defence of good women, not onely confoundeth vyllainous reporte, but also teacheth good wyues to knowe well theyr duytees. My Dictionarie declaryng Latine by Englysshe, by that tyme that I haue perfourmed it, it shall not onely serue for children, as men haue excepted it, but also shall be commodious for theim, which perchaunce be well learned. And this present boke, whiche I haue named the *Image of Gouernaunce*, shall be to all theim whiche wyll reade it sincerely, a verale true paterne, wherby they maye shape all theyr procedynges. And in none of these woorkes I dare undertake, a man shall fynde any sentence against the commaundementes of God, the true catholike faieth, or occasion to steere men to wanton deuises. Wherfore I trust vnto God, mine accompt

shall

shall of hym bee fauourablie accepted: although some ingrate person with ill reporte or mockes requite ill my labours: to whome I will onely recyte this merye fable of Esope, writen by Maximus Planudes.

¶ A good woman had an husbande, who wolde be often tymes drunken, whetwith she beyng ashamed, and deuisyng by what meane she myghte cause him to leaue that horrible vice, at the laste whan he was a sleepe, she caried hym vnto the charnell house, wherin were put the bones of deade men, and leauyng him lyyng there, she made faste the dooze, and departed. And whan she thought that he was wakyng, she takynge with hir bread and meate, retourned to the charnell house, and knocked at the dooze, hir husbande faintly asked who knocked there, the good woman answered, I which haue brought meate with me for the deade men, peace saied hir husbande, thou increasest my payne in speakyng of meate, bryng me some drinke I beseche the. That hearyng the good woman, alas saied she that

cuer

euer I was borne, for this vice gotten by custome, my housbande hath made it a naturall habyte whiche wyll neuer forsake hym.

¶ This fable nedeth no declaracyon: for euery man maye perceaue what it meaneth. Moreouer many beinge ignoraunt of good letters, doe vniuersally reproue all them that be studyous in learnynge, allegynge this common prouerbe. The greatest clerkes be not the wysest men: affirminge that they be foundē negligent aboue theyr owne profyte, and consequently vnapte to the ministration of thynges of weyghty importaunce. Howe vntrue theyr allegacions be, and on howe feble a foundacion they are buylded, it shall in this wyse appere vnto wyse men.

Fyrste the sayde prouerbe seemethe by hym, whiche lacked learnynge, to bee deuysed, sence that he preferreth ignoraunce before cunnynge, whiche arrogance declared hym to be a very foole, and vnwyttie: consyderynge that by knowledge most chiefely, a man excelleth all other mortall creatures, and thereby is moste lyke vnto God. And

learning

learnynge is none other thyng, but an aggregacion of many mens sentences and actes to the augmentacyon of knowledge. And yf some learned men doe neglecte theyr temporall commodities, it is for one of these causes: eyther bycause they haue byn so desyrous of knowledge, and in respecte therof estemed so lyttle all other pleasures, that they thought the tyme all to lyttle, whiche they dyd spende in it, holdynge them selues with that whiche serued for natures necessitie ryght well contented: or els lyke as the greahounde that was sente to greate Alexander by the kynge of Albania, whan there were shewed vnto hym severally a great harte, a bore, and a beare, he vouched not sauf to loke on them but lay still waggynge his tayle: then was there brought forth a greate lyon, to whom he dyd aryse softely, and settynge vp his bristels, and shewing his teeth, fleeyng to the Lyon, lightly strangled hym. Afterward a puissaunt Olyphant being brought to the place, the greehounde seming to reioyce at the greatnes of the beast, rouled hym, and

after

after two or three questynges, he lept to the great Olyphante, and after a longe fight ouerthrew hym and kylled hym. So I doubt not but that some men there be liuyng, in whom is suche courage, that in thynges of little importaunce maie seeme to be negligent, disdeignyng as it were to spende theyr wittes or labours about the pelfrie of riches: whyche beeyng ones called to aucthoritee, ioygned with libertee, will inforce theim selfes to make theyr mynystracions noble and excellent. Suche were Solon, Aristides, and Phocion in Athenes: Publicola, Fabricius, Curius, and Cato Uticencis at Rome, whose liues I would to god were in englishe, and the lyke be nowe lyuyng, if they were sought for.

¶ And for the confutacion of that pestiferous opinion, the greate learned men be vnapte to the ministration of thynges of weighty importance, this shall be sufficient. Fyrste, as I late saied, learnyng is the augmentacion of knowlege, whyche the more it is, the more may be perceiued what shall be mor

be moste necessary in thynges, that happen in consultacion: and the more it is perceiued, the better and more aptly maye it be mynystred and executed. Examples we haue of Moyses, who being excellently learned in the most diffuse doctrines of the Egyptians and Ethiopians, was by almighty God chosen to guyde and rule his people, which were innumerable and most frowarde of nature: and with what wonderfull wysedome and pacience dyd he gouerne theym by the space of. xl. yeres, being without any cities, townes, or any certeyne possessions? Who were better leders of armies then great Alexander, Scipio, Lucullus, and Cesar, whyche were men all of great learning? Who better handled matters of weighty importaunce then Octauian called Augustus, Hadrian, Marcus Antonius, Alexander Seuerus, and of late yeres Carolus Magnus, all emperours of Rome, and men very studiouse in all noble sciences? Whan was there a better consull then Tully, or a better senatour than Cato called Uticencis?

And

And to retourne home to oure owne countrey, and whereof we our selues maye be wytnesses, howe much hath it profyted vnto this realme, that it now hath a kynge our soueraigne lord king Henry the eyght exactely well learned? Hath not he thereby onely sifted out detestable heresies, late myngled amonge the corne of his faythfull subiectes, and caused muche of the chaffe to be throwen in the fyre? Also hypocrysye and vayne superstycyon to be cleane banysshed? Whereof I doubte not, but that there shall be or it bee longe, a more ample remembraunce, to his moste noble and immortall renoume? This well considered, lette men reasse theyr sayde folysshe opinion, and holde them contente with theyr owne ignoraunce, and for my parte, saye what they lyste, I wyl durynge my lyfe, bee in this wyse occupyed, in bestowynge my talent, being satysfyed with the contentyng of such men as ye be, adourned with vertue, the moste precious garmente of verye nobilitie.

¶ But nowe to the intente that ye, yt

ye wil

ye lyst, maye atteyne inestimable pro-
fite by the reading of this lytle worke,
I doe exhorte you, that readynge it
distynctely and studyously, kyste ye
marke diligentely, howe by the lasci-
uious and remysse education of Va-
rius Heliogabalus, he grewe to be a
person moste monstruous in lyuynge:
also howe not withstandynge, that he
not onely suffered, but also prouoked
the people to lyue in a moste beastly ly-
cence: yet horryble sinne at the last be-
came to all men fastydyous and loth-
some. Wherefore they slewe in moste
miserable facyon hym that consumed
infinyte treasure in supportynge theyr
lewdenesse. Then shall ye note dy-
lygently, howe muche it profyted to
Alexander, who nexte dydde succede
hym, that he hadde so wyse and ver-
tuous a mother, and that he was
brought vp amonge so wyse counsay-
lours. Also the maner of his mer-
uaylous procedynges, in reformynge
a publike weale, lefte vnto hym cor-
rupted so shamefully, wherein was
more difficultie, then to begynne it,
where neuer was any. Marke also

his

his most noble qualitees, and howe they were tempred. More ouer the forme of his speakyng, and how as he grewe in yeres, so waxed it more mature and seryouse, sometyme aboundaunt, otherwhyles shorte and compendiouse, as opportunitee serued. In his actes and decrees, what iustice and prudence were in theim contegned, what seueritee he vsed, sparing neither him selfe, nor his friendes or ministers. Finally, all his lyfe is a wonderfull myrrour, if it be truely read and iustlie considered, whiche if ye doe often loke on, ye maye thereby attire your selfe in suche facion, as men shall therefore haue you in more fauour and honour, than if ye had on you as riche a garment as the greate Turke hath any. Onely for my good wyll in translatyng it for you, I desire your gentill report and assistence agaynst them, whiche hate all thynges, that please not theyr fantasies.

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Thus endeth the table.

THE TABLE.

¶ Of what linage the Emperour Alexander was, and the signes betokenynge his empire. Capitulo. i.

Urelyus Alexander, sometime emperour of Rome, was borne in the realme of Syria, in the citee of Arcene: whose father had to name Marius, whiche was linially descended from the noble house of Metellus the Romaine, called Metellus the vertuous. Albeit, some writers suppose, that Seuerus, before he was emperour, was amorous of a woman in Syria, and by the arte of Astronomie, finding in her natiuitee, that she shoulde be an emperours mother, he toke hir to wife, and had issue by her Marius the father of Alexander: but fynally the progenie of this emperour is very vncertayne:

wherfore in myne opinion his lyfe and actes be the more to be honoured and mervailed at, consyderyng that being come of so vicetrayne a lynage, and borne so farre from the cite of Rome, and in so barbarouse a countrey, he coulde so well gouerne the empire of Rome, whiche before his tyme was with pryde and other detestable vices extremely corrupted.

¶ The mother of Alexander was called Mammea, a woman of noble wysedome, as it shall hereafter appeare by the bryngynge vpp of hir sonne, and preseruyng of hym as well from the vyces, whereunto he was not onely prouoked, but also well nygh constrigned by that most beastly emperoure Varius Heliogabalus, his cousin germayne and predecessour, notwithstandyng there was in that noble woman Mammea a greate spice of auarice in gatheryng and keepynge of treasure, which finally was the onely cause of the death bothe of hir and hir sonne. The sayde Mammea was doughter of a woman called Mesa, whiche was borne in the

nicia

ria, in a towne called Emesa, and was sister of Julia, wife of the emperour Seuerus. This Mesa lyuyng, Seuerus and Bassianus his sonne, was continually abyding in the courtes of those emperours: and after the decease of Bassianus, she was commaunded by Macrinus, than emperour, to departe to hir countrey, albeit, the emperour graunted, that she shoulde take with hir suche treasure, as she hadde gathered, whiche was aboundant. She had also two doughters, the one called Semiamira, the other Mammea. Semiamira had a sonne named Bassianus, whiche was of excellent beautie. And because he was prelate in the temple of the sonne whom the Phenices doo call Heliogabalus, he was semblablye called by that name, hauyng added thereto the name of Varius, which is in Englishe dyuers, forasmuche as some men suppose, that he was conceiued of the seede of dyuers men, his mother Semiamira, beyng incontinent, and as it were common to many men, duryng the tyme that she abode in the

emperours courte with her mother. Not withstandynge hir sonne Heliogabalus, by the craftie meanes of his graundame Mesa, was declared to be the sonne of the Emperour Bassianus, and by the fauour of the men of warre of the Romaynes, who than murmured, and hadde in hatred the pryde and cruelltee of Macrinus (who was emperour after Bassianus) and his sonne Diadumenus, the sayd Varius Heliogabalus was aduaunced vnto the empyre, who with voluptuous and monstruous lyuynge, in suche wise corrupted the citee of Rome, that therin vnneth remained any steppe of vertue or honestie.

¶ Contrarywyse the other doughter of Mesa, called Mammea, of whom I intende nowe to wryte, induced rather by nature and reason, than by the exaumple of hir vicious mother, so nourished and trayned hir sayd sonne Alexander in vertue and learnynge, that partely by her educacion, but muche more by his owne inclinacion naturall, he became one of the moste perfecte princes that euer gouerned.

The

¶ The education of Alexander, and howe he profited in vertue and doctrine. Capitulo. ii.

TOuching the educacion in childhode of Alexander, his noble mother Mammea fayled not to prouyde with all diligence and circumspection, that he mought be nouryshed in vertue, and amonge honest company, and that fro the tyme that he issued out of his infancie, he were continually instructed in all maner of doctrine, bothe ciuile and marciall: so that afterward he of his owne courage neuer suffred any daye to passe, without exercising him selfe eyther in letters, or in feates marciall.

¶ In the fyrst parte of childehod he had instructours, Valerius Cordius, Titus Veturius, and Aurelius Phylippus: whiche afterwarde wrote his lyfe. Also in his countrey he was taught in Greeke by Nebo the grammarian, & the Rhethorician Serapio & Stilio the philosophier. At Rome he had teachers in the latyne tounge: first in grammer Scaurius a famouse maister,

maister, in Rhetorike he was instructed by Julius Frontinus, Orbius Macrinus, and Julianus Granianus. All be it, he dyd not so muche delyte in Latine eloquence, as in the Greeke: he dyd therin profite so muche but he loued all men that were learned, and feared theym also, lest they should wryte of hym any thyng sharply, or to his rebuke.

Moreouer he sente ofrentymes for those excellente personages, communicatyng with them thynges, whiche were doen as well privily as also openly, wyllyng theym, that al that they founde to be true, they shulde put it in wryting: suffering also them to reprouе hym, whan they seemed conuenient. Oftentymes he made verses in Greeke very pleasaunt, and was muche inclyned to musike. In the mathematicall sciences, that is to saye, Arithmetike, Geometrie, and Astronomie, he was very wel learned. And therefore dyuers tymes by his commoundemente, the professours of those sciences purposed openly questions. In diuination he was so excel-

lent,

lent, that he therin surmounted the diuinours of Gascoyne, Spayne, and Hungary. He peinted also excellently. Also he did synge verey pleasauntly, but neuer in the presence of any other but onely his seruauntes and pages of his priuie chaumbre. He wrate the lyues of good princes in verses eloquently, and sange them vnto the harpe and organes right sweetely: but that dyd he onely for recreatynge his spirites, whan they were troubled with vehemente studie: as it often tymes hapned by incomparable labour about the great affayres of the weale publike. He was of vilage faire and well proporcioned in body, large and goodly of personage, and therewith stronge and durable to sustaigne peynes, as he that knewe his owne strength, and in the preseruing therof was not founde negligent. Thereto he was amiable, and towarde euery man gentyll, and easy to be spoken vnto. Also there was in hym so much humanitee and beneuolence, that he woulde often tymes bylyte not onely the best and the second of his frendes

and ſeruauntes beynge ſicke, but alſo theym that were inferiours, and of baſe hauiour, deſyryng them to tell hym freely what they thought of him, whom he wolde attentifely here. And whan he hadde harde them throughly, than as the thynge, whiche was ſpoken of, dyd requyre, he wolde diligently amende and correcte it. And whan his mother wouldе ſaye oftentymes to hym: Syr ye be to familiar and eaſy, and therefore ye ſhall cauſe the imperyall eſtate to be the leſſe ſet by: he aunſwered thus. But yet ſhall it be more ſure, and continue the longer.

¶ This was his diſpoſicion, procedynge as well of the perfection of his moſte gentill nature, as of the education of his good and circumſpect mother.

¶ Nowe wyll I procede to wryte of his excellent wyſedome and vertue, experienced in his auctoritee imperiall, wherein was declared the moſte perfecte fourme of gouernaunce, that euer was practyſed by any prynce (as I ſuppoſe) whiche ſhall appeare the more

more manifestely, yf fyrste I treate somewhat of the most miserable astate of the weale publike, and as it semed incorrigible, at the tyme that he retcined the gouernance therof, he than beynge but. xvi. yeres of age, whiche well consydered and kepte in remembraunce, this hystory shalbe to the readers thereof (excepte I be deceyued) both pleasaunt and mernailouse, and no lesse profitable to gouernours, that doe preferre theyr publyke weale before wylfull appetite and particular pleasures.

¶ Of the monstruous lyuynge of the emperour Varius Heliogabalus, wherby the citee of Rome was corrupted. Cap. iii.

Macrinus the Emperour for his auarice and tyrannie beeyng abandoned (or rather betrayed) of his owne people, and slayne with his sonne Diadumenus (who in beautee and goodly stature excelled all men of his tyme) Varius Heliogabalus, of whom I late spake, was aduaūced vnto the empire, by the whole consent

Tiranny & auarice.

consente of the Senate and people of Rome, who gaue hasty credence to all reportes that were made to the honour and praise of theyr new princes. (Suche is the appetites of men, whiche bee moued anone with credulitee: for suche tydynges as they desyre, they couette to here of, and doe delite in newe tydynges, though it be falsely reported.) But as soone as Heliogabalus was come to Rome, out of the countrey of Syria, he immediately declared his beastly nature, by insuynge vyces moste abhominable, and auaunceyng the fauourers and haunters of the same vyces, and inforcing with all his study and puissaunce, to exterminate out of the citee of Rome all vertue and honestee, from whense a lytele before, all the worlde receiued doctrine and example of honour, concernyng as well vertuous maners, as marciall prowesse.

¶ First in lechery this Heliogabalus was so insaciable, that not onely he exercised that vice openly, in common baines and bordell houses, with sundry women of diuers degrees and coun-

Countreis: but also he ordeigned a se-
nate of common harlottes : amonge
whom were dyuerse noble matrones
and damsels of Rome, theyr husban-
des or parentes not being so hardy to
let or rebuke them: vnto whom often
tymes after he and his ribaulde had
saciate with theym theyr lecherouse
appetites, he made a solemne concion
or propolicion, callyng them his com-
panions, & erhortinge them to set all
theyr studie and witte to induce all o-
ther women vnto the fourme of theyr
liuynge: declaryng expressely, that he
aboue all other thynges most desyred,
that all men and women of the citee
of Rome should be semblably disposed
as he was.

¶ I holde it not conuenient to bee
wrytten in any vulgare tounge, howe
he transformed and abused his propre
kynde, in such wise, as I suppose the
moste vicious man nowe liuing wold
be ashamed, not onely to beholde it,
but also to here it, and that did he not
onely secretly or in his house, but also
openly, all men that wolde, behol-
dyng and lokynge on hym. I omitte

the residue, whiche in mine opinion ought neuer to haue been wrytten for abomination therof, muche more neuer to haue been of any man knowen.

¶ He also promoted to the greatest dignitees of the publyke weale, common bawdes, notable rybaulde, solicitours and furtherers of dishonest appetites, often tymes cokes and deuisers of lecherours confections and sawces: Semblablie by suche persones he solde dignitees, auctorites, and offices in the publike weale. He also elected into the Senate, and to the roumes of greatte Capitaynes, Dukes, and gouernours of countreis most vyle personages, not hauing regarde to any age, gentilnes of bloud, merite, possessions or substaunce. He had of his priuie counsayle in all his actes, two Carters, the one named Protogenes, and the other Corydus. His gluttonie was almoste equall to his lechery: in so muche as he therin vanquished Vitellius, of whom it is wrytten, that at one supper he was serued with seuen thousande fyshes, and fyue thousande foules.

Whan

¶ When Heliogabalus soiourned nygh to the sea, he wolde neuer be serued with sea fysshe: but being in places farre distant from the sea, he caused al his housholde to be serued with most delicate sea fysshe.

¶ It abhorreth me to expresse his beastly lyuyng, but to the intent that the excellent vertues of his most noble successour shalbe more apparant and commendable (like as all thyng that is vile or course, doth set forth more pleasauntly that thynge which is precious and fine) it is requisite that I describe this monster in some part as he was. All be it I doe not tel euery thynge that I haue redde of hym, as well for that it shall be to good men odious to here, as also it moughte happen to incende the wanton and lewde courages of some readers, inclined to semblable qualitees, whiche (god knoweth) is much contrary vnto my purpose.

¶ But to retourne to this monstruous Emperour, whiche consumed daies and nightes in lechery and glotony, hauyng some day all his com-

pany serued with the braines of Ostri
ches, and a strange foule called Phe:
nocopteri: an other day with the tou:
ges of Popingaies, Nightyngales,
and other sweete singyng birdes, of:
tentimes with the milces of moste de:
licate fiſches. I omitte other lighte
fantasies, wherof I haue wrytten in
my boke called the Gouernor, where
I treate of sobrietee.

¶ Fynally it is remembred, that he
was neuer two daies together serued
with one meate, nor ware twise one
garmente, nor companied twise with
one woman, except his wife, as often
as he remoued in progresse, there fo:
lowed hym .vi. C. chariotes laded
onely with baudes, common harlot:
tes, and ribaudes. This com:
pany had he in stede of counsailours,
and so delited in this forme of liuing,
that he saied oftentymes, that if he
had a sonne, he wolde ordeine for him
maisters, that shoulde compell him to
liue in semblable facion.

¶ To these monstrous vices he added
cruelte, in puttyng to death diuerse
noble lengtours. Also vsing the coun:

saile

saple of witches and inchaunters, he made his sacrifice with younge children: And violently raupshynge from the noble men and women of Italy, theyr yonge infātes, he caused in his presence theyr bodyes to be opened, they lingynge, and moste cruelly searched in theyr tender bowelles for his moste damnable desteme. He had in speciall fauour one named Zoticus, who for familiaritie vsed betweene theym, was taken of all the chiefe officers for the emperours husbande. This Zoticus vnder the colour of the saied familiaritee, solde all the sayynges and doynges of the emperour, intendynge to accumilate abundance of richesse, by promysynge sayre to many men, but finally deceiuynge all men, for cōming out of the emperours priuie chaumbre, after that he had herde euery man speake, that sued to hym, to some he woulde saye: Thus saied I to the Emperour of you. Unto an other. Of you I hearde the emperour saye thus to daye. To diuerse he woulde saye, your matter or requeste shall come thus to passe. As

is the facion of suche maner of per-
sones, which beyng from a base con-
dicion admitted of princes into ouer-
muche familiaritee, they sell the fame
and renoume of theyr maisters.

¶ Such as I haue reherfed were the
counsailours of Heliogabalus, for all
wise and vertuous men he deadly ha-
ted. Wherfore he banysshed the noble
man Sabinus, vnto whom Vlpianus
the great lawier wrote his bokes.
And semblably he put out of the citee
the sayde Vlpian, onely because he
was named a good man: and caused
Siluius the noble oratour, whom he
had made maister to Alexander, to be
put to death. And he ordeined a tum-
bler to be great maister of his house-
holde, a carter named Gordius he
made capitayne of his garde. An o-
ther tumbler he made chiefe capitaine
of an army. The greatest roumes
and affaires of the empyre, he com-
mitted to minstrels, players of enter-
ludes and disardes. His bonde-
men and moste vile seruauntes, as
they excelled in abhominacion, so pre
ferred he theim to the gouernaunce of

realmes

realmes and prouinces.

¶ Also of his rabell of brothelles, to some he gaue the rule and gouernance of the youth of the citee: some he made rulers of the Senate, to other he gaue preeminence and soueraintee ouer all theym that were gentilmen, finally he intended to destroy all vertue, and to constreigne all men to lyue beastly as he dyd. And for that cause he commaunded, that the noble Alexander his auntes sonne, shoulde be slayne, either violently, or by some poyson: forasmuche as he perceyued hym to decline from his appetite: but Alexander was alway preserued by the prouydence of God, who inclyned the myndes of the senate & people to his preseruacion. For nothyng anayleth the malice of tyrannes against innocentes & good men, where almighty God wyll not haue theym to perysshe. Wherfore this monstruous emperour, desirynge the destruction of Alexander, procured his owne death, agreable with his abhominable lyuyng: for his owne seruauntes and souldiours, whiche were prepared for the garde

of his persone, dreadyng lest the people makynge insurrection, that they shoulde bee parteners of his mischieuous ende, beyng also tedious of his abhominacions, conspired to delyuer the common weale of hym: And sodeinely apprehended his adherentes and familiars, and with sundrie tourmentes dyd put theym to death. Finally pursuynge Heliogabolus to a priuy or draught, whereunto he fled, there they slewe hym, and his mother Semiamira, and afterwardes his horrible carayne beyng drawen thoroughout the citee with hookes, was of all the people defiled with ordure, and other mattier foule and stinking, and at the laste was brought with all kyndes of reproche to the common draughtes of the citee, wherinto they woulde haue throwen hym, but for as muche as the hole of the draught coulde not receaue hym, they tyed hym to a stone of great weight, and threwe him into the ryuer of Tyber, to the entent that he should neuer be buried.

¶ This was the worthy and conue-

nient

nient ende of this most beastly and vn cleane monster, who with the empe: rours Nero, Caligula, Domitian, & Commodus, his predecessours, was a notable & commodious example to all princes succeding, to declare, that not withstanding their maiestie and puis: sãce, thei for their vices abhominable were first hated, & afterwarde slayne, and dishonoured by theyr propre sub: iectes.

¶ And in this historie it is to bee spe: cially noted, that not withstandynge: that he not onely permitted, but also willed his subiectes to lyue in a ly: cence, and without correction, for sin: moreouer he vsed towarde theym su: che liberalitee, that he fedde theym with most delicate and exquisite mea: tes, gaue vnto theym money in ha: boundance, and also to theim, which dined or supped with him, he gaue all the vessell and plate, were it of golde or siluer, wherewith he was serued, and made many other distribucions to the whole people wonderfull sum: tuouse: yet the Romaynes not: withstanding, abhorring in him their

owne propre vices, or rather beynge therwith saciate or tedious, they finally slewe hym as before is writtē, after that he had reigned sixe yeeres, and beyng than but in the. xxi. yere of his age.

¶ Howe Alexander was made emperour, and of his wonderfull temperance in refusing dyuerse great honours. Capi. 4.

Immediatly after the deth of Heliogabalus, the senate and people of Rome being surprised with incredible ioye, vsed all diligence and spede, that Aurelius Alexander, whom they hadde defended from deathe, mought forthwith as verie emperour receiue all auctorite and honour, that perteined to the imperiall maieste. Wherfore they contended amonge theym selues, whiche of theym mought applie to him moste titles and names of dignitee. Wherefore he was the fyrst that receiued at one tyme all ornamentes and tokens of honour, adding therto the name of

Cesar

Cesar, whiche a fewe yeres before he had receiued, but muche rather his honeste lyfe and vertuouse maners, wherby he obteined suche fauour of all men, that when Heliogabalus would haue slaine hym, he coulde not bringe it to passe, the men of armes resistynge, and the senate obstinately refusyng: but all those were but trifels in regarde that he approued him selfe worthy, whom the senate ought to saue harmelesse, whom the men of warre desyred to be in sauegarde, and generally by the sentence and opinion of all good men, was elected to be emperour, beyng than but of the age of xvi. yeres. Notwithstanding he was than of suche a wonderfull soberneste, that where the senate wolde haue geuen to him the surname of Antonine (whiche name for the incomparable vertues that were in Antoninus Pius, and Antoninus the philosopher late emperours, was vsurped of other emperours, folowyng) for a principall title of honour, he humble refused it: semblablie dyd he the name of great Alexander, sayinge openly

openly vnto the senate: I beseeche you honourable fathers, doe not call me vnto this necessitee, that I should bee compelled to satisfie you in the merites of so highe a name as Antonine is. For if ye seke for goodnesse in a prince, who was better or more vertuouse then Antoninus Pius? If ye seke learnynge, who was more wise or cunnynge then Marcus Antoninus? And who was more harmelesse then Verus Antoninus? Noble fathers, these hyghe names of honour be burdenous and to greuouse for my youth to sustaygne. For who wyll gladly heare a dumme man called Tully, an idiote Varro, a tyranne Metellus? And as touchynge the name of great Alexander, it is much more incongruente, considerynge that with better reason I mought haue taken the name of Antonine, induced by colour eyther of affinitee, or elles of equall estate in the imperiall maiestee: but the name of great Alexander, wherfore shoulde I haue it? What greatte thynges haue I yet dooen to deserue that

name

name, whiche Alexander the Greeke after great enterpriles, Pompey the Romayne after many triumphes, had geuen vnto theym? Ceale therefore honourable fathers, to conferre to me honoures aboue my merites, and lens ye wyll haue me called Great, luffer me to be one of you, who in very deede bee great in honour and perfite magnificence.

¶ This moderate and lobre anlwere of lo younge a prince, inflamed immediately the hertes of the Senate and people, muche more to honour hym, then if he had receiued thole ftraunge names: and from that tyme he had the renoume of conftance and grauitee.

¶ Moreouer for his great Auflerittee againe the prelumpcion and lyghtnes of his louldiours and leruauntes, he was named of theym *Seuerus*, whiche betokeneth conftant or sharpe in punilhment. Whiche name in his tyme gatte hym muche reuerence, and afterwarde great fame and renoume amonge his luccellours. Finally this moft towardly prince with incre-

dible

dyble ioye was tryumphantly conueighed by all the Senate and people, to the imperiall palaice: where beyng lefte, he prepared hym selfe to the reformation of the whole empire, then beyng in ruine.

¶ The example of vertue geuen by Alexander in the fourme of his lyuyng and daly customes. Capitulo. v.

IMmediately after that Alexander, by the consent of the senate & people, was stablished in the imperiall auctoritee, and for his excellent goodnesse was most ardently beloued of the multitude, also the remembraunce of Heliogabalus and his adherentes, for theyr detestable vyces beyng euery where hated, and with detestacion abhorred: This noble ponge emperour, takyng than opportunitee, to restore the publyke weale to hir pristinate fourme, with the maiestie imperiall, late violated, and well nygh perysshed, through the negligence of the sayd monster: by the counsayle of his wyse and vertuouse mother

mother Mammea, fyrste purged his owne palaice, excludynge out of his courte and all offices, dishonest and infamed personages, and by no meanes wolde suffer to bee in his householde any other, than by all menne shoulde be thought necessarie. Moreouer he openly protested, makyng an othe, that he would neuer haue a superfluous noumbre of seruauntes, to the entent that he woulde not greeue the publyke weale with his prouysyon, saying: The emperour is a shrewd pupil, that fedeth with the bowels of his cōmōs, mē which be not necessary nor yet profitable to the weale publike. How much he hated vncleannesse of lyuyng, he well declared, when he commaunded that no woman infamed shoulde salute or visite his wife or his mother. All his lyfe was a perfect exaumple of temperaunce. His apparayle was wonderfull cleane, but not so sumptuouse, and after some mens opinion, more meaner then to his estate appertained. Semblable moderacion the empresse his wyfe obserued. Finally duryng his tyme he

vsed

vsed diligente correction of his owne maners: wherfore all noble men assaied to folowe hym. And all honourable women ensued the empresses exaumple.

¶ Moreouer this emperour was of suche an incomparable mansuetude, that he commaunded, that no man shoulde wryte vnto hym in any other fourme, then shoulde bee written to a priuate person, reseruyng the name of emperour. And also prohibited, that no man shoulde call hym lord, but salute hym as one of the senatours, and in this fourme, *Be gladde Alexander.* And if a man had vsed in gesture or speache any maner of flattery, he was either put backe, if the place so required, or els with a great laughter was mocked by them which were present.

Sue Alexander.

¶ And for as muche as he would not be saluted or visited but of them whiche were honeste, and of good fame, he decreed, that no man shoulde enter into his palaice, but onely suche as knewe them selues vncorrupted with notable vyces. And caused to be proclaimed, that no persone, knowyng hym

hym selfe to be a theefe or extorcioner, shoulde be so hardy to salute the emperour, vpon peyne of lesyng his life. He had this sentence oftentymes in his mouth: Theues onely complayne of pouertee, therby couetyng to hyde theyr mischeuouse lyuyng.

¶ Finally no daye passed, wherin he dyd not some thynge charitably, gentilly, or honorably, but those thinges he dyd in suche wyse, as therin he neither consumed ne wasted the common treasure.

¶ He procured seldome any condemnacions, but those that were doen he neuer pardoned. The tributes or fee fermes of cities, he oftentymes gaue to the repayryng and buyldyng of the same cities.

¶ Moreouer to dyuers poore men, of whose vertue or wisedome he had perfecte knowlege, he lent of his treasure to purchase landes, receiuyng a gayne his owne money, onely of the rentes of the same landes, and let the sayde persons haue the possession and all other profytes.

¶ He woulde not suffre any of his

courte to weare any garmente myxte with golde, or other wyse precious or costly: nor he him selfe delyted in rich apparayle, saying: *Gouernaunce was in vertue, and not in beautie or costely apparayle.*

¶ At his table he vsed no golde but pure beryll and christall, and other lyke matter to drynke in: he exceded not. 200. li. weight of siluer vessel in all his housholde.

¶ Precious stones that were geuen to hym, he caused to be solde esteming it to be a womanly appetite to haue suche iewelles, which he nought neither geue to his souldiours, ne in hauyng theym fynde any profite. Wherfore on a tyme whan an ambassadour had geuen to the empresse two orient perles of wonderfull greatnesse, he commaunded theim to be solde: And whan no man coulde be founde that woulde geue as muche as the pryce was esteemed, least any cuyll exaumple shoulde procede of the empresse, yf she shoulde be seene to weare that thyng, whiche no man coulde bie, he caused theim to be hanged at the eares of the

image

image of Venus: therby declaryng, that suche thynges eyther for the inestimable price was meter for goddes than for men: or for the vnprofitable beautie therof, serued onely for persons of wanton appetites, whereof Venus was goddesse and patronesse.

¶ No lesse temperaunce vsed he in meates and drynkes: neuer exceding foure sundry kindes of flesche and fishe at one meale, and those with a great moderacion and reason. He dranke wyne not scarcely, nor to muche, but competently.

¶ In feastes and banketting he neuer wolde haue any wanton pastime. His pleasure was to beholde byrdes fightyng together. And therfore he had in his gardeyne, places, where birdes of sundry kyndes were inclosed and kepte, wherin he toke singular pleasure. Notwithstandynge to the intente that he woulde in nothyng agriene the market in feedyng theym with corne, he had seruauntes that prouyded for them egges of wylde foule and culuers.

¶ In honest recreacion he was mer-

nailoũse mery and pleasaunte, ampa-
able in communicacion, at the table
so gentyll, that euery man mought
demaunde of hym what he woulde.
And to the intent that he woulde be
the more circumspecte, he ordeygned
the wyse man Ulpiane, one of the
greattest interpretours of the lawe
ciuill, to be in the stede of his tutour,
his mother repugnyng thereat at the
first, but after she gaue hym therfore
great praises.

¶ Whan he dined or supped abrode,
he had euer with hym Ulpiane, or o-
ther well learned men, to thentent he
wolde than heare histories cõteinyng
learnyng, wherwith he sayde, that he
was both recreate and also fedde. If
he satte priuily, he had a boke by him
and read therin oftentymes, but that
was in Greke for the more parte. In
open feastes he vsed the same simpli-
citee that he dyd in his palaice.

¶ He so much had flattery in hatred,
that he woulde not heare oratours or
poetes speake any thyng to his praise
callyng it foolyshnesse: but he hearde
gladly oracions, perswadyng to ver-
tue

tue, and also the actes of other good princes, as wel Romains as Grekes, specially the praise of Alexander the great which conquered the more part of the worlde.

¶ He went oftentymes openly to the common scooles to here Rhethoricians and poetes, Grekes and Latines. He hearde also oratours reciting causes, whiche they had prosecuted either before hym, or before the great officers.

¶ Fynally he so muche esteemed and fauoured learnyng, that he ordeyned great salaries to be gyuen to Rhethoricians, teachers of grammer, Physicions, Astronomers, Geometricians, Musiciens, deuisers of building and ingyns: And prouyded for them places to reade in, and scolars also, geuyng to poore and honest mennes children that harde theim, theyr commons free, with like charitee he reteined aduocates in poore mens causes. And suche lawaiers as freely dyd helpe poore men with theyr counsaile and labour, he rewarded with corne and wine to maintein theyr houshold.

He also yerely perused his lawes, and reformed theym accordyng as occasion chaunced or happened: and he hym selfe diligently and rigorously executed theim in his owne person and seruauntes. And therwith was of suche gentilnesse, that he woulde offer to geue place to the auncient Senatours that came vnto hym. And would suffer no man of honestie, that preased to speake with hym, to be repelled. He neuer dyd wronge to any person. Semblablie of wronges he was a vehement and sharpe persecutour, sauing that in his owne wronge he was muche more tractable than in a straungers. If he lay not with his wyfe, he was in the mornyng betyme in his priuie closet, where were sette the image of Christe. Also the pictures of Abraham, Socrates, Apollonius, and other auncient and vertuouse men, where by the space of halfe an houre, he remayned in prayers. And for this deuocion and mer-uailouse exaumple of liuynge, he was had of all men in wonderfull reuerence. All be it, his temperate and sobre

sobre lyuing, beyng thought of some men not agreable nor congruent to his maiestee, he was exhorted to aduaunce his astate, bothe in princely porte, & more sumptuouse maner of lyuing, leauing his affabilitee & straight obseruacion of his lawes, as it shal appeare by letters folowyng, mutually writtē betwene him & his counsailers.

¶ The letter of Gordiane the Senatour to the Emperour Alexander. Capitulo. vi.

THere was in the citee of Rome an honourable Senatoure named Gordiane, who had sometyme been consull (whiche was the hyghest dignitee next to themperour) and was the rychest man of all the citee, hauyng the greatest possessions in the countreys adioygnyng, that any man had, the emperour onely excepte, and also was a man of excellent learnyng and wysedome: Wherfore during the lyfe of Heliogabalus, this Gordiane, hauing his monstrous lyfe in abhominacion, and perceiuing

the maiestee of the empyre to dëcaye by his negligent and dissolute liuyng, and that there was no hope of remedie, obseruyng the tyme, he by lyttle and lyttle withdrewe hym into suche places, as he had of his owne, farre from the citee, feignyng hym selfe to bee greeued with suche diseases as dyd debilitate his wyttes, and therfore requyred to be farre from resorte of companie and muche noyse, whiche beyng in the citee, he mought not eschewe. This excuse the emperour Heliogabalus hearde gladdelye, as he that feared and also hated the grauitee and auctoritee of Gordiane, and therfore licenced him to departe and remayne in the countrey, as longe as it lyked hym, thinkynge by his absence to be moore at libertie and to lyue more wantonly.

¶ So with the emperours fauour, or rather follie, Gordiane quietely and also pleasauntly passed the tyme, that Heliogabalus lyued. And when he hearde of the deathe of that monster, he wolde not returne to the citee, but sent his consent of election to the se-

nate

nate, after he knewe that by assent of the people, Alexander was named emperour. And when he was required of the senate to come personally, he aggrauated his impediment, allegeyng sickenesse, although in dede, neither in body nor witte he was in any part diseased: but knowyng Alexander to be veray ponge, and also cousen Germayne to Heliogabalus, he drad in hym bothe the one and the other, fearyng lest nature shoulde prenayle agaynste education, whan he shoulde come to an absolute lybertee, and be out of the state of all correction. But soone after that Alexander was stablished in the empyre, and that his vertues were commended and published, Gordiane reioysyng therat, toke therof marualous comforte.

All be it, for his native grauitee and stately courage, he lyked not the affabilitee and familiaritee that Alexander vsed, now beyng the chiefe prince and soueraigne gouernour of all the worlde: wherfore or he would make any accesse to his presence, he would proue his wisedome and vertue in ad-

mittyng his counsailes, wherfore he wrote in this wyse vnto hym.

NOble and excellent prince, the fame of your aduancement vnto the gouernaunce of the empyre, was to me as it is to all the worlde, most ioyfull tydynges, considerynge the lamentable astate of our publike weale, with the certeyne hope that all men haue in you, beyng meued with your vertues incomparable, whiche dayly more and more ye doe manyfest by your moste honourable example in liuing, declared to al that doe beholde, not onely your royall persone, but also your seruauntes and familiar companions. Amonge whiche vertues, your affabilitee and gentilnesse haue acquired no small prayse amonge the people, as commonly they delite in swete countenaunce, and mildnesse of gouernours, wherin they trust to fynde more libertee. But most noble prince, although for these qualities, ye deserue praise & loue of your subiectes, yet in the imperiall maiestee requyreth to be a more straunge countenance, and a selde and difficult

accesse

accesse vnto your person, considering that by the familiaritee of hym that is a maister or gouernour, as well euyll men as good, doe receiue boldernesse to speake, and they which be euyll, doe busily assaute hym, eyther with flattery, or with detractyng of other: wherby princes, although thei be of good natures, and well brought vp by theyr parentes, yet be they oftentymes transformed into monsters, that is to saye, into beastly lyuers or rauenous tyrannes. I omitte contempte, whiche induced by familiaritee, bryngeth the subiecte to disobedience. Let it not displease you, that I seme to haue in your highnesse any suspection Verily as a man that hath a fayre and honeste wyfe, wherby he is meued to loue hir interly, wolde not haue hir gladly stande in the market place, and accompt without discrepance euery man equally, and with lyke pleasaunte countenaunce, suffer euery man to speake to hyr what he lysteth, although he knoweth hir to be vertuouse and constant: as well for the naturall shamefastnesse

Familiaritee in a prince.

faſtneſſe that oughte to be in a wo-
man, may not admitte ſuche open re-
ſorte and communicacion, as alſo the
eares that be often aſſauted, can not
euer eſcape, but be they neuer ſo well
fortified with wyſedome, at the laſt
lyke a caſtell wall, they beinge ſore
ſhaken with many ſweete woordes
and longe enteruiew, they yeld at the
laſte, yll cuſtome expellynge ſhame-
faſtneſſe, and fynally all wyſedome
beyng reiected, and nothynge ſet by.
Semblably moſte excellent prince,
your perſone is to the ſenate as deare
as the wyfe to her huſbande, and for
your fayre vertues we of good rea-
ſon ought to be ſo ialouſe ouer you,
that willyngly we ſhoulde not behold
you fall into any cuſtome, whiche
mought allure you into any yll diſpo-
ſicion, remembryng the late calami-
tee, that the citee and empyre were
brought vnto by your moſte monſtru-
ous predeceſſour Marius Heliogaba-
lus. Wherfore lyke as nowe ye be to
hym moſt contrarious in lyuynge, ſo
we deſyre to haue you reſiſt all occa-
ſiō, that mought geue neuer ſo little a

path

pathe for flatterers, detractours, and promoters of vice, to entre into your counsayle or fauour. Who can auaunt him selfe to be well assured from this nette of hipocrisie, which hath (as I thought say) sundry and dyuers meishes of flatterynges, whiche vnneth any man can escape, that wyll tarie vntyll the nette be cast ouer hym? The remedie then is either with Maiestee to repel it, or to cutte it a sunder with sharpe rebukes: and that in the presence of other: or so greuously to persecute alwaie those hypocrites, I dooe meane flatterers, with open punishement, that all men maye know and abhorre theym. And that other therto by nature inclyned, may be euer afearde of lyke experiment. But the fyrst way is most sure vndoubtedly. For rebuke and punyshement cometh after the daunger, but maiestee procedeth: & therfore more profiteth. For suche persones rebuked or punished, perchaunce excusyng theim selfe that they doe it by to ardent affection and desyre to plese, or by theyr youth & lacke of experience, or recognisyng theyr Maiestee.

theyr follie, and promysyng amende-
ment, may happen excuses to crepe
into fauour, and than they worke
their nette so finely, that it can not so
soone bee perceiued, and pitcheth it
more covertly, applyng it aptely to
theyr maisters conditions, so that it
shall be almost impossible for hym to
escape, but that in one meshe or o-
ther he shall be tangled. Contrary-
wyse by Maiestee (that is to say, state-
ly countenaunce and difficult accesse)
ioygned with wysedome, impresseth
suche reuerence, that men not onely
doe feare to approache vnto theyr so-
uereygne lorde, vnlesse they be called,
but also to speake any thyng, wherby
thei being discouered, shuld lose their
credence, hopyng neuer againe to re-
couer it, considerying, that by maie-
stee and wysedome, the accesse to the
prince is made impenetrable, sens to
them that neuer offended he is so hard
and difficile to be spoken vnto. Thus
to your maiestee haue I shewed myne
opinion, wherfore if by my counsayle
ye doo leaue your affabilitee, and fa-
miliare accesse, and imbrace graui-
tee and

tee and princelie astate, ye shall bee sauke from the perils that I haue remembred, and haue equall honour with your predecessors, whiche wold not be seen of the people but seldome, and oftentymes with a courteyne before theyr vysage, syttyng in theyr place of astate, whiche they toke of the Persians: for thynges seldome seene be most esteemed: and they that be frequent and often in eye, be little regarded, whiche as ye increase in age, and experience, ye shall fynde true, and to be wrytten of a faithfull counsailour, that desyreth the increase of your vertue, with the publike weale of our most noble citee & empyre

¶ The aunswere of Alexander to the letters of Gordiane. Capitulo. vii.

When the emperour Alexander had receiued and read the sayd letters of the senator Gordiane he semed to reioyce more therat, than at all the honours and tytles that were geuen hym by the Senate and people

O Rom Cuans is my Name Cnglan
& my Nation, I am Thanks

people, saying with a lowde voice? yet there remaineth some hope in the publyke weale, that it shall not vtterly perish, sens we haue Gordiane the senatour left to assiste vs. And therwith he called for his tables, and immediately made to hym aunswere, as hereafter ensueth.

GOrdiane honorable father, how muche better had the Senate and people of Rome prouyded for their publike weale, if they had taken you to be theyr emperour, hauing regarde to your auncientee and excellent wysedome, where, in me they fynde nothyng but frayle youth, and lacke of experience. For onely detestacion of the negligence of my predecessour, with the desire that I haue to increase vertue, hath sowen of me suche opynyon amonge the Senate and people, that not remembryng you (perchaunce for lacke of your presence) they haue enhabled me to this astate aboue my merites. Verily no man doubteth, but that ye being borne in the citee of a ryght auncient and noble house of the Romaines, as of your

your fathers syde, issuyng from the honorable senatours called Gracchus and by your mother descended from Traiane the emperour, mought with that grauitie and sterneſſe, whiche is in you, as it were by nature ingenerate, and amonge the people of Rome, aboue fortie yere in the principall dignitees experienced, moſte honorablie haue maintained the imperiall maieſtee. Where I beyng borne a straunger, and my bludde (althoughe it proceded of the noble hous of Metellus) beyng to the more parte of the Senate and people vnknowen, am constraygned to auale that maieſtee, that in you shulde be commendable: and in the steede of your grauitee and sadneſſe, to vſe towarde all men affabilitee, and suche forme of gentilneſſe, whiche ye seeme in me rather to prohibite than to dispraiſe, leſt that my noueltee shulde ceaſſe to be pleasaunt vnto the people, if by my sharpeneſſe or straunge countenaunce I shuld seme to deceiue them in their opinion. Meruell not you not, that the hault countenance and

the difficulte accesse, whiche was in Tarquine the last kyng of Romains, acquyred to hym that odyouse surname to be called Tarquine the proud and although that he were bothe valyaunt in warres, and in garnysshing the citee verie industrioulse, yet whan occasion and opportunitee happened of rebellion, the people being brought into furie, declared than howe muche more they hated then feared hym, ne had hym for his noble actes in any estimation or reuerence. Moreouer whan they had expelled hym out of the citee, to the entent they mought haue more familiar accesse vnto their gouernours, and fynde in theim more affabilitee, from thenseforthe vnto the tyme of Caius Cesar, they yerely elected newe gouernours, callyng theim Consulles, as it were counsailours: supposyng that in theyr tyme of auctoritee, the remembraunce that they shoulde be priuate persones the nexte yeere folowyng, shoulde cause theim to vse the people the more familiarely and also gentylly. And whan those officers, beeyng of longe tyme

tyme chosen of the nobilitee onely, became in processe of tyme haulte mynded and sterne towardes the communaltee, the people with longe sedicion compelled the senate to ioygne at the last, with a noble man in that office, one of theyr companye. Julius Cesar with affabilitee, mercie, and gentylnesse became so puissaunt, that neyther the Senates auctoritee, nor the prowesse incomparable of the great Pompei, nor yet the inexpugnable armies prepared against hym, had power to resyst hym. yet shortly after that he had decreed, that no man should approache hym, and became in his countenaunce and woordes more stately, he was slayne in the myddell of the cure by fyftie Senatours onely.

¶ The great Alexander beyng so familiare and gentyll amonge his people, that he did not onely visite homely theyr pauylions and halls, ministryng to theim all thyng that they lacked, but also suffred theim to come to hym boldely, and often tymes to speke to him rudely: he dyne thē with

hym into the furthest partes of the worlde, into most baraine and daungerouse countreys: and by most gentill persuasions vainquished nature, whiche abhorred the tedioule iourneys, the trauailes incollerable, the venemouse styngynge of serpentes, the hunger and thyrst that sundry times happened, and other incommoditees and incredible labours, whiche moughte not withdrawe theym from folowyng theyr prince, so muche his most amiable gentlenesse subdued theyr appetites. But after that he, folowyng the kinges of Persia (whom yesme to playse in your letters) vsed a more pompouse estate then he was accustomed, and neyther wouldе beholde or speake to his people familiarely, nor suffre theim to speake to hym freely, howe soone than chaunged they theyr copie: and as his affabilitee decayed, and pryde increased: so theyr louyng affection towarde hym, in lykewyse relented: whiche constreygned hym to ompyte parte of his enterpryse, and retourne vnto Babylon, where

amonge

amonge his friendes at a bauket, he was destroyed with poyson.

¶ The incomparable humanitee and gentilnesse of noble Germanicus, (who shoulde haue succeded Tiberius in the empyre, if the treason of Fiso hadde not frustrate the truste of the people) caused his sonne Caius, beyng yet in his cradell, to be so fauoured throughout the army, that they hauyng hym, with his mother Agrippina amonge them, toke no lesse care for hym, then if he had been proper sonne to eueriche of them: which loue in suche wyse remayned, that immediately nexte after Tyberius, they made hym emperour. Who in the beginnyng of his reigne, vsyng the humanitee of his noble father, gouerned the empyre quyetely, as he that was meruailously beloued of the people. But whan to aduaunce his maiestee, he became straunge, counterfaityng his vysage in a glasse into a terrible grauitee, couetyng to seme fearefull vnto the people, & whan he was openly seene, which was but seldome, he sitting in apparel al of gold,

laded with iewelles, compelled the senate and people to worshyp hym as god, how soone after was his statelinesse tourned into mockery, and he beyng of all men abandoned, was lyke an horrible monster slayne and drawen through the citee?

¶ Consider the affabilitee and gentilnesse of the noble Augustus, Titus the sonne of Vespacian, Nerua, Traiane, Antonine called Pius, and Marcus Aurelius, whom no man can derogate of any parte of honour and wisedome, and se where ye may therwith compare any sturdy grauitee, or haulte and straunge countenaunce of any other emperoure or prynce.

Feare. Loue.

Certes Gordiane honourable father, he much erreth (in mine opinion) that preferreth feare before loue, without the which (witnesseth Socrates) nothyng either with God or with man maye dure or abyde. Feare dependeth on loue, and without loue it is soone hadde in contempte. Suppose not ye, that he was a wyse man that sayde, *Men whom they feare they hate, and whom they hate, they wolde were destroyed.*

Quem metuunt oderunt : quē

Wyse

Wyſedome cauſeth menne to be ho-
noured, liberalitee to be mervailed
at, but gentilneſſe and affabilitee one-
ly to be hertily loued. Grauitee pro-
cedeth of wyſedome, and conſiſteth
not in countenaunce, but is compacte
of two vertues. Conſtance and Pru-
dence. Wherfore it can neuer be coun-
terfaite, if the actes be well expended
and tried. For where it lacketh the
ſayde two vertues, it is eyther nice-
neſſe and to be laughed at, or els pride
outragious and to be abhorred and
hated. But affabilitee can neuer be
vicious, for though it be in one that
lacketh diſcrecion, yet by libertee of
ſpeche, which increaſeth therby, he
ſhalbe ſo oftentymes warned, that he
ſhall defalcate that thyng that ſe-
meth ſuperfluous. Ne the acceſſe of
flatterers or detractours, to him that
mortally hateth theym, can bryng
any damage. For he is to muche a
foole, that wyll ſhewe his breſt naked
vnto his enemie. And to him that is
ſurely armed, it is no peryll though
his enemy aſſaute him, ye perchaunce
if his enemie finde him invincible, he

odiunt po-
teſſe expe-
ctant
Ennius.
Grauitee.

shall afterward be afeardc to appro-
che hym.

¶ Thus haue ye father Gordiane, not onely myne opinion herein, but also my determinate sentence, not therby dispraisyng your honourable graunte, which for the causes that I haue rehersed, is in your person right laudable, but in me beyng not so wel knowen in this citee amonge the Romains, which of theyr nature be free, and were neuer in seruitude, it semeth not to be so expedient. Albeit if I reigned in Persia, where the people frō the beguning haue byn best gouerned by tyranny, I woulde perchaunce otherwyse do, changyng affabilitee into straungenesse and stately countenance, which improperly (in mine opinion) ye in your letters haue named Maiestee. Thus fare ye well, and haste you to retourne to the Senate, which with me desyreth the presence of your excellent wysedome.

¶ Sone after the emperour Alexander, beyng elected consull, he solicited the senate and people to electe also Gordiane into that office, affirmyng

that

that his youth required for the vtilitee of the publike weale, to be ioyned with such a companion as Gordiane was, whose wisedome, experyence, and grauitee, was of all men sufficiently knowen.

¶ The first practise of Alexander in reduling of the empire vnto his pristinate honour. Capi. viii.

THe noble & prudent lady Mammea, mother of the emperour Alexander considering hir son to be now entred into the moste daungerous passage of youth, being but .xvi. yeres old, feared lest the excellency of his estate (as it oftentymes hapned to other) shulde incite hym to assaye thinges, whiche fraile nature thynketh delectable, and tasting ones of them, his tender youth moughte not withstande the assautes and pleasant affections, wherby he moughte eftesoones bring the empyre into ruine & infamy, and hym selfe and all his blood to vtter destruction. Therfore she perceiuyng hym to be obedyent to hir exhortacions, (in deede she was a woman of muche wysedome and holy-

holinesse, but that she was somewhat noted of couetyse) she, with good reason persuaded hym, that he could neuer well stablyshe his astate imperial, but onely by reducyng of the Senate and people into their pristinate order, whyche coulde neuer be brought to passe, excepte that fyrst his owne palaice were cleane purged of personages corrupted with vices, and into theyr places men of approued vertue and wysedome elected. And semblablie that to the example of the emperours owne householde, the sundrie dignitees and offyces in the weale publike were aptely distributed: consideryng that the princes palaice is lyke a common fountayne or spryng to his citee or countrey, wherby the people by the cleanesse therof be long preserued in honestie, or by the impurenesse therof, are with sundry vices corrupted. And vntyll the fountaine be purged, there can neuer be any sure hope of remedie.

¶ Wherfore Alexander immediately after that he had receiued of the Senate and people the name of Augustus,

stus, wherunto was annexed the entyre power and iurisdiction imperyall, wherby he mought commaunde or prohibite what he thought moste conuenient, fyrste he discharged all ministers, whiche the monstruouse beast Heliogabalus had vndiscretely promoted of moste vyle and dishonest personages, vanishing also out of his palaice, all suche as he mought by any meanes know, to be persons infamed: semblable flatterers, as well those, which therfore were fauoured of his predecessour, as them, whom he apprehended, abusyng hym with semblable falsehode. Accordyng to that example he reformed the whole senate and iudges, and also al other dignitees and offices in the publyke weale. In lyke maner he purged his garrisons and men of warre, and corrected theyr libertees and priuileges, geuen vndiscretely to them by other emperours, or by them myssused. Moreouer, with all speede conuenient, by the aduise of Vlpiane his tutour, Frontinus, and other the wyssest men of the Senate, he with all diligence

diligence elected out of all partes of the empire, a conuenient and honorable campany of wyse and honorable counsaylours. This numbre were the most excellent lawiers, of whose sentences is made the texte of the lawe ciuile, gathered in the bokes named the *Digestes*. There was also Fabius Sabinus, surnamed Cato for his singular wisedome. Also Gordiane, of whom I late did wryte, a man of muche grauitee and noblenesse, whose sonne was afterwarde emperour. Moreouer there was Claudius Venatus, a noble and eloquent oratour. Also Cæcilius Severus, kinseman to the emperour, moste excellently learned aboue all other. Seremianus a man of greate perfection and grauitee. And Caius Marcellus, who was of suche vertue and goodnesse, that neuer hystory remembred a better. These good and honorable personages, with many other not of muche lesse estimacion, at all tymes and places attended vpon that noble emperour: of the whiche Vlpiane was in maner his chaunsellour or keper of

per of the imperiall monumentes: And the emperour had hym for his chiefe counsailour.

¶ In what fourme the emperour Alexander had his counsaile, which alway attended vpon his person. Capi. ix.

THe fourme of Alexanders counsaile, was as hereafter ensueth. ¶ Fyrst all matters and causes ciuile of great importance, he caused to be examined and brought in order by the great lawiers before rehersed, of whom Vlpiane was chiefe, & they made true report therof vnto hym. ¶ Moreouer he wolde neuer make decree or ordinance without xx. lawiers substancially learned, and fyfty other experte and eloquent men, and that was done after this maner. Euery mans opinion and sentente was throughly and quyetly harde without interruption or altercacion. There were assigned viii. secretaries or clerkes, men of quicke and substantiall memory, who in brefe notes or syphers, made for that purpose, wrote euery

euery woorde that by those counsay-lours was spoken. Moreouer a competent tyme was geuen to euery counsailour to study and seke for such reason as he wolde purpose, to the intent they shoulde not speake vnaduisedly in thynges of importaunce.

¶ It was also this emperours custome, that whan he treated of lawes and matters politike, he called therto learned men, and suche as were eloquent and well reasoned.

¶ If he commoned of matters touchyng warre and hostilitee, he called to hym olde and experte capitaynes, whiche had valiantly acquited theym selues in sundry battails Also theim that were experte in the situacion of places, pitchyng of fieldes, and preparacion of campes. He wolde also here diuerse, whiche were perfectely and ripely instructed in histories, in serchyng by theim, what the emperours and princes, as well Romains as of other nacions before that tyme, had dooen in semblable causes, as were at that time in reasonyng.

¶ And after all theyr opinions and sentences

sentences were wrytten, by the secre-
taries (as is before mencioned) and
that they conferryng together, had
made therof one perfecte minute of e-
uery mans saying, and deliuered it to
the emperour, with as muche haste as
was possible: Than he in a place se-
crete perusyng the minute, and assem-
blyng and ponderyng the sentences
thoroughly, after a competent tyme
therin bestowed, eyther gatheryng of
theim one perfect conclusion, or elles
addyng to some thyng of his inuen-
cion, he finally opened his conceite a-
mong all his counsaylours, whom he
had before hearde, notwithstandyng
he gaue to theim libertee, either to a-
lowe his sentence, or yf any man had
any thynge newly deuysed, eftsoones
to declare it. And that sentence whi-
che was of most wyse men approued,
that alwaye preuailed, and he therto
consented, and caused it with all dili-
gence to be put in experience. For he
was of suche moderacion of mynde,
that nothyng more pleased him, than
to here any man with a substantiall
and trew reason to confute his opi-
nion:

nion: whiche caused him to bryng to passe thynges to be maruayled at. But now wyll I declare the oracion that he made in the Senate, after that he had sette in good order his owne proper householde.

¶ The oracion of Alexander to the Senate. Capi. x.

The inestimable maiestee of this empire (as ye well know honorable fathers) lyke as it toke begynnyng and increase of prowesse and politike wysdome, so by the same and lyke meanes it muste be conserued. Our moste noble progenitour and founder of this empyre, the valyaunt Romulus, beyng in his tender infancy, caste out of the palaice, and nourished amonge the poore herdmen, with sufferyng much hunger, colde, and continuall trauayle, archieued this lyttle porcion of grounde, wherin now standeth the principall ruler and maistresse of all the worlde. To the ayde of his prowesse he added the quiete and vigilant study of rude sheepe-

shepeheardes olde and decrepite, whose bodies beyng macerate with labours, and made feeble with age, although they mought nothyng profite in battayle, yet theyr wytes beyng confirmed by longe experience, and free from the veracion of wanton affections, they no lesse aduanced and sette foorth the enterprise of the courageous Romulus, than did the diligence and prowesse of his lustie souldiours. Neither his strength or courage, ne the wittes of his rude senatours became so excellent, as it semed at that tyme to be, by feedyng superfluously, by beastly idelnesse, or wanton pastymes, but onely by temperaunce in lyuyng, vigilant prouidence, and continuall exercise: whereby strengthe is nourished, and wittes be increased: Lyke as by the other the strengthe of bodie is resoluyd, and the wittes be consumed or vnprofitably dispersed. And certes lyke as the tryall is proued to be true by the example before declared, and many other succedynge that tyme: So the lasse is semblablie verified

by late experience, and wherof the steppes yet do remayde to our no lyttell griefe and displeasure: consyderyng that therby this noble empyre is lyke to fall into extreme ruine, and perpetuall infamie, vnlesse your moste excellent wysedomes wyll dyligently and constantly prepare your selues to the certayne remedy against this peryll intollerable, whiche remedy onely shall be the purgeyng and reformacion as well of this moste honourable companye of senatours, as of all other dignitees and estates in the weale publyke. In the whiche inquisicion we desyre none other prerogatiue, but that it maye take his fyrste begynnynge at our propre palayce and householde, and in our owne persone to be fyrste executed, to the intente that the principall fountayne, beyng founde cleane, the remnant of our subiectes, whose order of lyuing procedeth of our exaumple, as riuers and sundry lakes from a heade spryngе, whiche is sette on a mountayne, maye with lyttle difficultee be more easely pourged. Nor other

estate

astate or preeminence wyll I requyre, but where youthe refuseth in me the most reuerende name of father of the countrey, whiche ye offered vnto me, yet condescendyng to parte of your gentyll requestes, I wyll gladly receyue the names and tytles of protectour of the senate and tribune, or els if better do lyke you, defender of the Romaine people. And on that behalfe I requyre you, for the approbacion of my sincere loue to the publyke weale, that accordyng to the ancient and laudable custome of this noble citee, ye wyll cause to be chosen Censores or correctours of maners, suche personages as neuer were infamed with any vyce notable, and whose lyues be inculpable, and therwith be sufficiently furnysshed with wysedome and grauitee, voyde also of all priuate affection, feare, auarice, and flattery. Who lyke good surgeons, shall not forbeare with corrosiue and sharpe medicines, to drawe out the festred and stinking sores of olde marmolles and inueterate sores of the weale publyke, ingendred by

the longe custome in vice. To the whi-
che remedie as a necessarie minister,
I shall put to my proper handes and
assistence vnto the death. Leauyng
remembraunce after me, that in ma-
kyng me your emperour, ye nothyng
haue appayred of the imperiall maie-
stee, but haue aduaunced it with the
publike weale of your citee. To the ra
tification of the whiche iudgement of
you noble fathers, I shall applie hol-
ly my studie, trauayle, and diligence,
callyng God to wytnesse, that the Se
nate and people of Rome, shall sooner
faile the publyke weale, then I shall
leaue any parte of my duitie.

¶ Howe the correctours of maners,
called Censors, were elected, & with
what rigour they executed their
office by the commaundement
of Alexander.
Capi. xi.

THe sayd oracion of themperour
Alexander beyng finished, a
wonderfull reioyling entred in-
to the hertes of the senatours, which
were

were vertuouse and honorable, and beyng replenished with ioye, they all spake on high with one voice saying: Emperour Alexander, God euer preserue the. God sent thee vnto vs. God euer defende the. God hath deliuered thee from the vncleane Heliogabalus. God kepe the perpetually. Thou dydst longe tollerate that mischeuous tyranne, thou doest lament his abhominable lyuyng, and at the last god hath delinered the & vs also of him, & to this hath brought the. Lampridius.

¶ After these and many moe congratulacions made to the emperour, he geuyng to the senate condigne thankes, departed to his palaice. And shortly after there were chosen by the common consente of the Senate and people, foure Censors, two to remaine in the citee, and other two for Italie, and the prouynces vnder the name of latines: from whence were electe for the more parte Senatours, iudges, and other chiefe officers, whiche had iurisdiction and auctoritee to gyue any sentence. The Censors for the citee were Fabius Sa-

Martius Maximus.

binus, and Catilius Seuerus, men of excellent wysedome and grauitee: And for the prouinces were made Quintilius Marcellus, and Caius Manlius, men of auncient nobilitee and great seueritee.

Office of Censors. ¶ The office of Censors was to note the maners of euery person, whiche was in any degree of honour, that is to saye, aboue the estate of the common people, wherin was shewed such rigour, that no man was spared, so that if a knyght, a iudge, or a senatour hadde vsed any vnseemely thing appairing or steigning the estimacion of the degree, whiche he represented, it was in the auctoritee of the Censors to degrade or discharge him of his office or dignitee.

¶ Soone after the sayd election, they made Alexander consull: Who with all diligence procured, that Aelius Gordianus, of whom I late spake, was made his compaunion in the Consulate, wherat some of the people grudged, fearyng least the hardinesse and hault courage of Gordiane shuld chaunge the incomparable gentilnesse

of Alex-

of Alexander into crueltee and pryde: but it succeded all otherwyse, for the wise emperour, by the exquisite gravitee of his companion, reformed so his nature, which was in wyse mens opynion more easye, and simple than appertayned to the imperiall estate, that by al mens iudgement he became in moderacion of vertues, of all other incomparable.

¶ The Censors immediately after that they were elected, vigilantly and sharpely executed theyr offices. For fyrst they discharged out of the senate all suche, whiche by Heliogabalus, for theyr abhominable lyuyng or flattery, were therto promoted.

¶ Semblably they pourged the order of knyghthode, disgradynge all knyghtes, whiche were shamelesse lechours, mainteiguers of theues, or they theym selues robbers. In lyke wyse al those, which of baudes, tuffianes, carters, cookes, and other like reprocheable persons, were by Heliogabalus put in auctoritee. The same industry they vsed in reformyng iudges, and other heade officers as well

in the citie, as about in the prouinces, Finally none astate or degree escaped theyr rebuke or correction. Nor the emperours palaice was exempt from theyr iurisdiction: In so muche as Aurelius Philippus, who was sometyme a bondeman, notwithstandyng that he was manumised, and had byn the emperours schoolemaister, and after wrote his lyfe, forasmuch as he dyd ryde in a chariote, and would be saluted as a Senatour, the Censors caused hym to be ladde to prison, and prohibited him for comming to the emperours palaice, but onely on foote, and his copped cappe on his heade, which facion onely was vsed of them that were infranchised. And although for his good learnyng and honestie, some noble men admised the emperour, that he should requyre the Censors, that they should withdrawe theyr rygour in correctyng Philippe, considerying that he had been sometyme his scholemaister: He nothyng woulde doue, to let or restreigne the sharpe correction of the Censors, but muche extolling theyr constaunce, he answered:

If

If the common weale may haue euer such officers, in short space there shall be founde in Rome moe men worthy to be emperours, then I at my comming founde good senatours.

¶ And immediatly he ordeigned, that there shoulde neuer libertine, that is to say, any man of a bonde ancetour, be of the Senate, saying: That the order of knyghthod was the place, from whens were fetched the plantes of the Senate, that is to say: from whense the senatours were elected. Notwithstandyng he pourchased a goodly mancion, with sufficient reuenues, not farre from Rome, whiche he gaue to the sayd Philippe, saying to hym: Before I was emperour, I disdeigned not to folow thy doctrine. Now be thou as well contented, for the increase of mine honor and of the weale publike, to obey to mine ordinaunce. And although the maiestee of the citee maye not permitte the to be openly receiued in the noumbre of our familiars, yet priuy resorte shall approue our fauour towardes thee, not lesse, but increased.

¶ Of ſuch merualous ſeueritee was this emperour, that no kynde of affection or priuate appetite moughte reflect hym from the ſharpe execution of his lawes or lawdable cuſtomes of the citie, as more yet ſhall appeare in the chapiter folowyng.

¶ Of the great prudence of Alexander vſed in the election of his counſailours and officers.

Capitulo. xii.

IT oftentymes happeth, that where god doth ornate a prince with naturall giftes and alſo great vnderſtandyng and ſharpeneſſe of witte, he for lacke of election (whiche is a great parte of prudence) hauyng about hym counſaylours, companions, and officers vnmete or vnworthy, maketh the ſayd ornamentes vnprofitable, or peraduenture incommodious to the weale publike, where of he hath gouernaunce, whereby the renoume, whiche were condigne, and as it were incidente to rare and excellent qualitees, is loſt and dieth with the body, or els (which is much worſe)

is tourned to perpetual reproache and dishonour: whiche the emperour Alexander circumspectely considering, he with an incomparable study prepared for hym selfe certeyne rules of election, as hereafter foloweth.

¶ Fyrste he determined to love all, that was vertue, and to hate all that was vice, in what person so euer the one or the other shoulde happen.

Rules whereby a prince shoulde electe counsaylours.

¶ Also what so euer pleasure or commoditee mought come to hym by embracyng or tolleratyng of any notable vyce, he woulde rather lacke it, thoughe it were to his detrimente, than to bee seene to chaunge his opinion, least any man shoulde thereby take occasion to commende vice.

¶ And for as muche as vnder his empire were dyuers and sundry nacions, wherof also the people by naturall disposicion be diuersely inclyned to vertue or vice, he therfore applied hym selfe to knowe the sundry wittes, maners, affectes, and studies of men, borne in euery region, countrey and notable citee, throughout the world: which knowlage he apprehen-

ded so

ded so exquisitely, as well by studyous readyng of many hystories and other notable workes of morall philosophie, as by diligent examining of capitaines, and marchauntes, which had trauailed and bin in sundry countreys: whereby he was wonderfully holpen in his elections and iudgementes, as it shall hereafter appeare.

¶ He woulde neuer accepte commendacion of any person, before he hym selfe had spoken with hym, and that by secrete scrutinie he had been truely informed of hym. And yet the commendacion that he woulde afterwarde here, shoulde be a parte, none other man hearyng, but hym selfe, lest if many were presente, and he that commended were in auctoritee, other hearers although they knew the contrary, shoulde eyther affirme a faulse commendacion, or elles feare to saye trueth, yf they shoulde be therof demaunded.

¶ In theym that were counsailours, he vtterly abhorred ambicion and flattery. In iudges, he hated with extreme detestacion couetise and wrath.

In

In bothe the one and the other he lo-
ued Sincerite, vulgarely called vp-
rightnesse. Sincerites

¶ The perfecte knowlage of mens condicions he had not by the repoꝛte of theyꝛ superiours oꝛ equalles, ne by theym which dwelled farre from the habytacion of thoſe whom thei pꝛac-ſed, but by the examinacion of theyꝛ nigheſt neighbours, being men of ho-neſtie, and not theyꝛ enemies. And that was pꝛactiſed by ſuche of his owne yeomen as were moſt auncient and ſage: whiche findyng occaſion to ride thꝛough the countreys, where they were neyther bozne noꝛ had poſ-ſeſſions, ſhulde make this diligent ſcrutinie oꝛ ſerche. And to ſuche ma-ner of perſones the common people woulde moꝛe familiarely and plaine-ly declare theyꝛ opinions, than to gentilmen oꝛ men in auctoꝛitee. But if themperour perceiued afterwarde, that he had been vntruely infoꝛmed by any of his ſayde eſpialles (whiche ſometymes he dyd by further experye-ence, as beeyng in his pꝛogreſſe, oꝛ hym ſelfe hearyng and diſcuſſyng com-

complaintes of the common people openly and with a great deliberacion and grauitee (he than extreemelye, and without hope of remission, punished the false reporters, were it in prayse or detraction: caulyng theyr tounges to be perced through with a hotte brennyng yron, and to be banished his courte and presence for euer. Whiche punishement, although it wyll seme to some men sore and cruell: yet considering (that vlyng this meane) he was neuer deceiued by counsaylours, and also that Justice was duely executed by theym that were in auctoritee, that maner of rygour maye be thought necessarye and very expedient. Also the punishment being in a fewe executed at the beginnyng, the seueritee of the prince became so terrible, that men so greeuously feared hym, that neyther desyre, rewarde, nor dread of any other man coulde let the sayde espialles to reporte truely, according as they had founden by theyr diligent scrutinie.

¶ One marualouse cautell he vsed, that is to saye: One man was not oftentimes

tentymes in that truste of espiall. And those personages were chosen and appointed onely by hym selfe, without makyng any other man pryuie, vntyll he had deprehended theim with some maner of falsehode.

¶ Finally he was of such a wonderfull discrecion and sobrenesse, that no reporte coulde brynge hym out of pacience, or into suspicion, vntyl he had well tried the reporte with some prayse experience, as it shall be declared hereafter.

¶ And thus I make an ende of the fyrst parte of his gouernaunce, which was in orderyng of his owne persone and courte: whereby principally he brought not onely the citee of Rome, but also all the whole empyre (not withstandynge the beastely lycence brought in by Heliogabalus) in as good estate as euer it was in the time of any of his moste noble progenitours.

Howe

¶ Howe extremely Alexander hated extorcioners and bribours, and howe much he fauoured them that were vertuouse.

Capitulo. xiii.

THe emperour Alexander hadde suche indignacion, towardes them that were extorcioners or bribours, that if by chaunce he espied any of them, he was therwith so greued, that he immediately wolde vomit vp colar, and his face being as it were on a fier of a longe time moughe not speake one worde.

¶ On a tyme one Septimius Arabinus, who in the tyme of Heliogabalus was a famouse bribour, came in the company of Senatours, to salute the emperour Alexander, who beholdyng hym, sayde with a loude voyce: O lorde god, beholde, Arabinus not onely lyueth, but also presumeth to be in the Senate. Peraduenture he trusteth in me, iudgynge me to be an ignorant and foolysshe emperour.

¶ Moreouer he ordeined, that where there were founden any extorcioners, or bribours, that they shuld be openly examined

crampned and iudged, and by the gouernours of countreyes sente into exile.

¶ Whan he was in his progresse, suche as were gouernours or Iustices in prouinces, whom he harde worthily commended without sinister affection, he would in his iourney take them into his horselitter, communing with theim of the state of theyr countrey, and honourynge them with rewardes, saying: *That lyke as extorcioners and bribours are to be impouerissched: so good men and iuste are to be enryched.*

¶ In hearing the complaintes of his souldiours agaynst theyr capitaynes, yf he founde any capitayne faulty in that thyng, wherof he was accused: foorthwith he caused him to be punished after the qualitee of his offence, without any hope of remission. Semblably dyd he to his souldiours and seruauntes. For where they iniustely greeued any person, he corrected theym sharpely, and with a meruailous austeritee.

¶ To one of his secretaries, whiche forged an vntrue bil in his counsayle,

he commaunded the sinues of his fingers, wherewith he dyd wryte, to be cutte, and so to be vtterly banished. Wherfore he was called Seuerus, which is as muche to saye, as sharpe or rigorous: for Seueritee is rygour in punishement, accordyng to the qualitee of the offence, hauyng respecte to a good purpose, without any desyre of vengeaunce. And it is that parte of iustice, that consisteth in execution: the commendacion whereof shall appeare in the next chapiter.

¶ A notable example geuen by Alexander in reprouing an ambicious and vaineglorious counsaylour. Capi. xiiii.

I Suppose it shall not bee tedyous to good men to heare one incomparable example of the seueritee of this meruailous emperour, which although it shall seme to many that shall here it, to be ouer behement and greeuous, yet in readyng the chapter next folowyng, it shalbe sufficiently declared by the wordes of the same emperour, that his sayde rigour

gour in iudgement was necessarily vsed, and with equalitee in iustice, deseruyng in no part to be repreeued. But now wyl I reherse the said story ¶ There was about the sayde emperour a man of great honour, called Uetronius Turinus, whom for his great witte and sagenesse in apparaunce, the Emperour had in singular fauour, in so muche as he called hym to his priuie counsayle, and vsed to bee with hym more familiare than he was commonly with any other: whiche so muche blynded the inward eye of Turinus, that he coulde not see in hym selfe, whiche he not longe before had condemned in other, suche incomparable sweetenesse is founden in the familiare companie of princes. Wherfore like as whan the companions and seruauntes of Ulisses had eaten abundantly of the herbe called Loios, the taste therof was so pleasaunt and meruailouse, that all that eate therof, forgettyng theyr owne propre countrey, coueted to remaigne styll in that region, where that herbe grewe: and but onely by violence

they coulde not be brought to theyr shyppes, to retourne to theyr propre houses: semblablie *Turinus*, after he had been with the emperour in an inwarde and secrete familiaritee, he founde it so pleasaunte, that forgetyng from whens he was called, and takyng lyttle heede of any other part of his office, he put his whole studie and delectacion to augmente the opinion of men, that thought that the emperour woulde nothynge dooe without his aduise, wherby he shuld bee magnyfied and honoured aboue all other of the emperours counsayllours. And therfore he had continuall suite made vnto hym, as well by them that had suites to the Emperour in theyr particular causes, as others that loked for offices or great promocions. To euery man a parte he woulde promise his fauour, and therefore receiued greate rewardes and presentes, but finally whom he knewe that the emperour had preferred in office, or any thynge determined in his iuste cause. (For that mought he knowe, beynge with the

emper

emperour so secrete, although the good emperour dyd nothynge by his perswasion onely: but by prudente aduyse and good delyberacion, as it shall here after appeare) on hym would he becke, if he were in the chaumber. And oftentymes in a date he would come from the emperour into the chaumber of presence, or place, where suiters awaited, and of whom he had receiued money, to them wold he saie, that he had remembred them, and in their request or matier receiued good comforte, whan in deede he spake not therof one woorde.

¶ Finally by the colour of this familiar and secrete recourse, that he had to the emperour, he gathered muche treasure: but at the laste dyuers, and in great numbre, to whom he had promised, that thing that they sued for, notwithstanding they receiued nothing in conclusion but noddes with the head, founde theym selues deceiued, and theyr great summes of money vaynely employed: wherat they murmured, and partely meued with disdeigne, partely with power-

tee, they brast foorth at the laste into manifest grudgeyng: whiche came to the emperours eare, by what meanes I knowe not, but suche abuses can not be longe hydde from princes, that haue theyr eares perforate (as is the prouerbe.) Whiche the emperour hearyng, was moued with meruayloufe displeasure, considerynge that Turinus, whō he had in so great estimacion, abusyng his persone in feygning him to be his pupill or seruant, had solde his determinacions and sentences, wherby he had defamed his Maiestee, in that that Turinus had brought men in beleefe, that the emperour dyd nothynge (but as it were) at his onely becke and commaundement. Whiche opinion to redresse he vsed this pollicie.

¶ He caused one to deffye a thyng of hym openly, and afterwarde to sue to Turinus priuilie to helpe hym in his demaunde, and secretely to moue the emperour for hym: whiche beynge done, and that Turinus had promised his good wyll to hym that sued, and soone after saying, that he had some-

what

what meued the emperour therein, where in deede he spake not thereof any one worde, and that he abode an aunswere therof: wherupon he receiued of the sayde suter a great summe of money, whiche themperour knowyng, caused hym to call eftsoones on Turinus: but he as if he had in hande other businesse, onely beckened on hym without speakyng any thynge, to hym, for in deede the emperour had geuen to an other that thynge whiche this man sued for, whiche grudgeyng therat, discouered openly what Turinus had of hym receiued: that knowyng the emperour, he caused Turinus immediately to bee arrested, and openly in his presence to be accused: whiche was doone by a great numbre, whom he had also deceiued, takyng of them great summes of money for offices, and other thynges, which they neuer obteigned.

Wherefore after Turinus was condemned by sufficiente and credible wytnesse, in whose presence he had receiued this bryberie, and in whose hearyng he had effectually promysed:

he was iudged by the emperour, to be ladde into the open market place, where moste resorte was of the people, and there beeyng bounden to a stake, with smoke made of grene stickes and wette stubbell, to be smouldred to death. And duryng the tyme of his execution, the emperour commaunded a beedill to crye, *with fume shall he dye that fumes hath solde*: But to thentent men shulde not thynke, that for one offence the iudgement was to cruell and rigorous, ere euer Turinus was condemned to dye, the emperour made diligent serche, and by euident proufes it was founden, that Turinus had often and in many causes receiued money of borde parties, promisyng to aduaunce theyr cause to the emperour. Moreouer to proue the seuerite of this emperour laudable, it shalbe declared in the chapiter next folowynge.

The

¶ The consultacion concerning the punishement of Turinus, and the excellent reason of the emperour Alexander. Capi. xb.

IN the meane tyme that *Turinus* was accused, and before his condemnacion, the emperour Alexander accordynge to his customable vsage, gaue conuenient time to his counsailours to deliberate by thē selfes, er euer that they gaue any sentence, what punishment shoulde be equall to the offence of *Turinus*, and necessary for an example to other, that they presumed not to doe the semblable. After whan the counsayle was called, euery man was commaunded to declare his opinion: Some reasoned, that the open rebuke with sufficiente satisfaction vnto the partie, shoulde be a conuenient punishment: Other added to imprisonment, for a certayne tyme: dyuers wolde that he shoulde be banysshed farre from the court, many affirmed with vehement argumentes, that he deserued to be

beheaded, considering, that in abusing the emperours maiestie, in selling great offices to persons unworthy, he had put the publyke weale in no litell hasarde. The emperour aduisedly hearing all theyr opinions, laste of all (as it was his maner) reasoned in this wyse, as hereafter followeth. My trusty and well beloued counsailours, we haue hytherto attentifely harde and throughly considered your wyse and honourable sentences, declared with free and uncorrupted myndes, although by the diuersitee of your naturall inclinacions, your sundry reasons seeme to haue no lyttle diuersitee, as it happeneth in all consultacions, wherin diuerse men dooe shewe theyr conceiptes freely without feare of blame, as I doubt not but ye doe. Notwithstandynge for as muche as hearyng all your opinions and reasons, I haue my wyt the better instructed to fynde out and declare (excepte I bee deceiued) what shoulde be the moste expediente and necessary punishemente of Turinus, for the offences wyche he

hath

hath committed, wherin ought to be no lesse seuerite (as I will proue with good reason) than yf he had attempted to haue slayne me, or to brenne this moste noble Citee of Rome, the honourable mancion of goddes, and common refuge of all the worlde.

¶ Fyrst ye remember, that ye chase me to be your gouernour, not onely for the nobilitee of my progenitours, ne for their images or monumentes of thankefull remembraunce, yea rather for the beastely and moste abhominable lyfe of Heliogabalus, my cousen germayne, ye had more cause to refuse me: neyther ye made me your Emperour and prince for the goodlynesse of my person, or prowesse shewed by me in your warres; I beyng yet for tendernesse of age vneth able to doo feates of armes, muche lesse to leade an army, specially such one as pertaigneth to this noble empyre. But truly it was for the good estimacion and hope that ye had in the towardenesse of mine education & nature, thinkyng it to be aptly disposed to vertue,

to vertue, wherin beyng brought vp in childhod, I ought to haue alway about me, suche as be of lyke disposicion: and by theyr assistence and counsaile, to moderate and rule the publyke weale of this citee. It ought therfore to be kept in remembraunce, that as I haue sayde, by the good opinion and hope that all men haue conceiued of me, this publike weale, which beyng subuerted, I founde as none, I haue reedified (and be it spoken without bost) almost made newe from the foundacion.

¶ Than if he that enforceth him selfe to bren the houses, or to beate downe the walles of the citee, by good iustice and reason shoulde suffre death: by a muche greater reason ought *Turinus* to dye, that hath endeuoured him selfe to subuert and destroy that, whereby the publike weale as well was begunne, as is also preserued, considering that the publike weale in estimacion is to be preferred before the materiall citee, as muche as the lyfe of a man and renoume of vertue be of more value than stone or timbre,

where

wherwith the walles and houses be builded. And therfore Aristotle, in defining, what is a Citee, doeth not call it a place builded with houses, and enuironed with walles, but saith *that it is a company, whiche hath sufficiencie of lyuyng, and is constitute or assembled to the entent to lyue well.* Wherefore it is the people and the weale of them that maketh the citee. And the destruction and subuercion therof, ought with more rigour and behement punisshement to be reuenged, if more sharpe punishement may be than death, than brennyng and beatyng downe of materiall houses or walles. Citee.

¶ This well and deepely considered, it shall not be thought that they, that haue reasoned for the mitigacion of Turinus punishment, hadde before in remembraunce, and sufficiently examined the grenousenesse of his offence, accordyng as I haue declared it, but onely considered his bare acte without any circumstaunce. But yet the treason dooen also to me, aggreueth the trespasse. Is it not treason, to conspyre the destruction of thy

of thy soueraigne lorde? moste of all, of whom thou art entirely fauoured, and put in great trust? Is there any diuersitee betwene the stickynge of hym with a dagger, or kyllynge hym with poyson, and by some circumstance to cause his people to rebel against hym, and in theyr furie to slee hym? Who comparyng to gether the fourme and maner of these offences, will not suppose it reason, that the punishementes therfore shoulde be muche more vehemente and sharpe, than for any other transgression, sece Justice limitteth equall punishement in proporcion, accordynge to the importaunce, that is to saye: The greatnesse or smalnesse of the offences.

Nowe let vs consyder the qualitie or substance of Turinus misdemeanour. ¶ In the tyme of the emperour Seuerus and Caracalla, he was in small estimacion: but after I was electe emperour, he craftily smellyng out my disposicion, by litell and lyttell acquainted him selfe with some of those of whom for theyr vertues I had best opinion, and counterfeityng theyr maners

maners, he at the laste so aptely set
foorth suche grauitee, whiche he ad-
orned also with a wonderfull sharpe-
nesse and promptitude of witte, that
he obteigned to bee hyghly recom-
mended vnto me by the wysest men of
my counsayle: by whose aduyse fyrst
I made hym one of my treasurers.
Finally I called hym nere me, and
made hym of my priuie counsayle,
wherein we founde hym so necessa-
rie, that in our opinion his sentences
were equiualent, and sometyme sur-
mounted theym that hadde been in
moste estimacion. And to the en-
tent that he woulde augment that o-
pinion and credence, that we had in
hym, he euer vsed a great severitee
or straightnesse in his sentences a-
gaynst flatterers, dissemblers, and
persons corrupted, namely suche as
solde theyr endeuour or diligence in
obteyning our fauour in any matter,
or for any office. And by his industrie
diuerse were detected vnto me, and
punished accordyng to theyr merytes.
For these causes I more and more
toke him in fauor, and to encourage o-
ther

ther to ensue his exaumple, I did aduaunce him as ye know, to the highest dignitees within the citee, except the consull, and haue participate with hym our moste priuy secretes, vsyng hym so familiarly, that dyuers other of our counsailours haue partely disdeigned. Now behold what he hath done. First he hath deceiued and mocked vs with his hypocrisie, abusyng our simplicitee, and winnyng our fauour, and not our fauour onely, but also our credence and trust, whereby he mought finally worke to his priuate commoditee, and to our confusion. For he beyng with vs in such familiaritee as none other was, he practised those thynges that we moste abhorred, that is to say extorcion, sellyng of right and wronge, & merchandisyng of offices and dignitees. To whom is extorcion or bribes not greuouse? althoughe the geuer receiueth great lucre. Is there any thyng to be more abhorred than sellyng of Iustice, whiche knoweth no rewarde? Howe muche more intollerable is the selling of iniustice or wronge, wherby

the one parte suffreth damage by sus-
steigning of wronge, the other is more
indamaged by leesynge of his good
name and also his money, yf it hap-
pen, as it hath dooen oftentymes, by
a good and ryghtuouse gouernour,
that he whiche hath dooen wronge,
he compelled to make restitucion.
But principally and aboue al other
am I most indamaged. For I vnwa-
res and innocent beyng brought into
the hatred of men, should be destroy-
ed before that I mought knowe that
I were in peryll. Now conslider ye
the importaunce of *Turinus* offence,
conferrynge it with all that, which
I haue rehersed, and by the way re-
membre, that not onely he that sleeth
his prince, or depopulateth his coun-
trey, and maketh it desolate, but also
he that conspireth to doe it, and ther-
to endeuoureth hym selfe with al his
puissaunce, though he be let by some
occasion or studie, deserueth to die by
the determinacion of Justice distribu- Justice di-
tiue. By what meane he woulde doe stributiue.
it, it is not materiall: excepte perad-
uenture some man mought suppose,

that the acte were more odiouse of hym that procured the people to destroye theyr owne prince or countrey, whom they are bounde by allegeance and fuerie with all theyr power to defende, than of hym that dooeth solicite straungers or auncient enemies, to inuade his countrey.

¶ Finally if any common person, neuer receiuynge of me any benefyte, wolde repoite in the eares of the people, that I went about to change thestate of the weale publike of this noble citee, to slea all the senatours, to withdraw the people from theyr auncient libertees, and finally to bryngе the maiestee of the empyre into a tyranny, and by suche false informacion erciteth and stireth the senate and people to hate me, and couet my destruction: suche one proued at the laste to haue sayde falsely. I beleue ye woulde not thynke onely woorthy to die, but ye woulde with your owne handes dismembre hym, and plucke him in pieces. Why shoulde you not than thynke, that *Turinus*, whom I moste fauoured, and was about me

moste

moste secrete, not by reportyng euyll of me, (whyche perchaunce woulde not be beleued) but by actuall deedes and openly committyng in iustyce, and tyrannie, in maintenyng, supportyng, and comfortyng wronges, extorcions, oppressions, and other enormitees against the weale publyke: also aduauncyng euyll and vngracious personages to dignitees and offices, wherby Justyce ought to be ministred, and the publyke weale gouerned, and by these meanes quenchyng the good opynyon and loue that all men had towarde me, and changeyng it to a feruent grutche and hatred, they thynkyng that *Turinus* dyd all thyng by our appointment, syze the hertes of the people ageynst me: why should ye not I say, thynke that such one hath deserued to dye? And as he was with vs in singular fauour and truste, and therin lyke to noue other: so ought his death to be singular and straunge, that by the noueltee therof it may be more terrible, whereby other may feare from henceforth to abuse in suche maner our affabilitee,

whiche beyng in vs naturall, without suche a munition can not bee sure and safely preserued. And for this our sentence no man ought to deeme vs cruell, or to lacke mercie, if hee consyder diligently all that we haue spoken. And dooe also remembre, that to kepe an infinite noumbre of men from the rigour of Justice, I spare not to execute the same rygour on hym, whom I specially fauoured. After that the emperour had concluded in this wise his reason, there was no man offred to replie thereto, perceiuyng hym rather meeued with zeale than with any perticular displeasure: and to say the trueth, whan they hadde pondered his consideracions, not findyng sufficient argument to confounde his opinion, finally they all beyngc in noumbre fiftie wyse and honourable counsaylours, reioyced, that they had so wyse and vertuouse an emperour, whiche preferred Justice, and the weale of his people, before any priuate affection or singular appetite. Than immediately followed the execution of *Turinus*, whiche

Sincerite

was

was appointed by the emperoure, in fourme as ye hearde it declared in the laste chapiter.

¶ How Alexander instructed and entertreigned them that were officers, and of his liberalitee towarde them that dyd wel theyr duities. Capi. xvi.

NOtwithstandyng the seueritee of this noble emperour in the sharpe punishmente of oppressions, extorcions, and other offences of semblable importaunce: yet was he toward suche as iustely executed their offices, for the publike weale, verey fauourable, gentill, and bounteouse. For if any of them had peraduenture at the begynnyng or fyrste entre into his rowme or auctoritee, vsed lesse diligence, or omitted some thing that he ought to haue doone, eyther for lacke of experience, or hauyng not therein sufficient instruction, forseene alwaye that he did nothyng by corruption or vicious affection: the emperour callyng suche one to hym priuily and apart from all other. Fyrste he wolde

remembre hym for what cause he had called hym to that roume or auctorite, the importance or charge wherof he woulde also declare, and than wolde he somewhat commende hym for his honestee and temperaunce, wherwith he wolde confesse him selfe to be satysfyed, accordyng to his expectacion: Than sadly and with a wonderfull grauetee, he woulde admoneste or warne hym of his lacke in diligẽce or in omission, shewyng what damage the publyke weale mought sustaine, by lacke of his circumspection, and without that, theyr vertues shoulde be vnprofitable to theyr office or dignitee. After wolde he exhorte and requyre them with gentill countenaunce and woordes, to vse more studye and trauayle aboute the affayres of the weale publike, committed vnto theym, promysyng to theim for their good endeuour, his assistence and fauour with honest recompence in the ende of theyr trauayles.

¶ Moreouer although he were thus industrious in espying out the demeanour of euery man in his office, yet

wolde

Woulde he not suffre any other per-
son to rebuke or to scorne theym, say-
yng. That where any obedience is
due, thense ought to be excluded all
rebukyng or mockyng, consyderynge
that therof ensueth contempt, which
lyke a pestilence consumeth all lawes
and auctorite: And that he and the
senate were iudges of the duties of
theim that be in auctorite. Also he
vsed to say oftentymes: That it hap-
neth sometyme, that they, which be
slacke in theyr duties at the begyn-
nyng, after they haue been monyshed
therof, eyther by theyr frendes, or by
the goodnesse of theyr propre wittes,
they haue been industrious and dili-
gent. Contrarywise other, whiche
at the fyrst haue been quicke, with a
meruailouse dexterite and prompt-
nesse, they haue by little and little re-
lented, and hauing gathered good es-
timacion & abundance of substaunce,
haue withdrawen them selues frome
peinetul affaires, & at the last be to no
man but only to thē selues profitable.
¶ Whan any man had exercised his
office duly, vprightly, & circumspectly

in the publyke weale, at the ende of his terme, whan there was a successour vnto hym beyng present appointed, then wouide he saye vnto hym that departed out of his office: The publike weale geueth to you right hertie thankes, than wouide he rewarde hym in such wyse, as beyng priuate, he mought accordyng to his degree, lyue the more honestly.

¶ His rewarde was in lande, cattel, horses, grayne, yron, stone, and other thynges necessarie to builde a commodious place, wherein after great trauaile about the weale publyke, he mought refresshe bothe his body and spirites: And euer after the emperour had hym in moste tendre familiaritee.

The emperours dyligence in knowyng mens qualitees.

¶ Verely in one thing he vsed an incomparable diligence, wherin he surmounted in myne opynyon all other emperours. There was no man in dignitee or office, eyther by the assignement of the Senate, or by his commission, but that he knewe his persone, and fournie of lyuyng. And that muche more is, he had in his chaum-

chaumbre billes conteinyng the numbre of theim, whiche were his souldiours in wages, and also euery one of theyr names, and what tyme they had serued. And whan he was by hym selfe quiete from great affayres, he perused the number of theim, their dignitees, wages and fees, to the intent he would be for all occasions surely prouyded. And therfore whan he had any thynge to dooe with his souldiours, he named euery man in his communication: And whan they were presente, he called theym vnto hym. And whan he was solicited to promote any person, he marked his name, and than wolde he serche his bokes of remembrance, wherin were the names of them that hadde serued him, with the tyme of theyr seruice. Also theyr reward or promocion, and at whose requeste, or by whose solicitacion they were promoted.

¶ In offices he seldome suffred to be any deputies, saying. They only shuld be aduaunced which by them selues & not by deputies coulde order the publike weale, Adding therto: that men

of warre had theyr ministracions, and learned men theirs, and accordynge therunto should roumes be disposed, that euery man should do that thing, wherof he had most knowlage. He had therfore written what he had geuen, and that remembring, if he found any man, to whom he had eyther geuen nothing, or that whiche in value was not equall vnto his merites: he called him, and sayde: what is the cause that thou askest nothyng of me? Desirest thou to haue me thy detrour? Aske somewhat, that lacking promocion, thou complaynt not of me.

¶ He gaue alwaye suche thynge as impaired not his honour, as goodes, of men atteinted, not beyng in golde or siluer: for that was alway put in the common treasourie.

¶ Also he gaue bailifwikes and rules of places ciuile, but neuer of war, excepte it were to theym, which were expert and approued true capitaynes.

¶ Receiuours he changed euery yere, and called them an euyll that needes must be suffred.

¶ As for chiefe iudges, proconsules, or lieue-

or lieuetenātes, he gaue none of those roumes in rewarde, but by a deliberate iudgement eyther of him selfe or of the senate. Such was the wonderful and (as I mought say) most curious circumspection of this excellente prince Alexander, which in mine opinion can not be by mans tounge sufficiently extolled.

¶ Howe curious the emperour Alexander was in assigning of Iustices in his lawes, and how he vsed liberalitee or sharpenesse towardes thē accordyng to theyr merites. Capitulo. xvii.

Suche persons as he assigned to bee iudges in causes ciuile, he with good deliberacion & prouse, dyd chose theim, whiche were best lerned in the lawes, and were of muche auncientee, and therwith hauyng good grauitee, and were knowen to be sincere and of good conscience: and vnto them was appointed an honorable stipende: In so muche as to them that were iudges in prouinces, was geuen to euery of theym twentie

Pondo ex. teigneth of our vsuall grotes. 125 so the ſy- pend amou- ted to. iiii. pound. viii s. iiii. d. of our money.

Romayne pounides of ſyluer, fiue ſil- uer potres, two mules, two mulettes, two hoꝛſes, a hoꝛſekeper and a mulet- teur, two robes oꝛ habites to ſiete in iudgement, one honourable garment to weare in his houſe, one foꝛ his baine oꝛ ſtudie: Alſo a hundred pie- ces of golde. Moꝛeouer one cooke, and if they were vnmaried, one concubine. And after that they had left theyꝛ ad- miniſtracion, they ſhould yelde againe the mules, mulettes, hoꝛſes, mulet- teurs, and cookes, which al the ſaid time were found of the common treaſure, the reſidue they ſhoulde reteigne ſtyll, yf they had dooen well in theyꝛ office: And yf they had dooen euyll, they ſhulde pay the quatreble oꝛ foure tymes ſo muche as they receiued.

¶ He neuer woulde ſuffer, that any office, which had iuriſdiction oꝛ exe- cution of Juſtice, ſhoulde be ſolde oꝛ obteigned by geuyng of money, oꝛ any other reward. And therfoꝛe where one of his moſt priuie ſeruaun- tes had promiſed to one, to obteine of the emperour foꝛ hym an office, whi- che had ciuile iuriſdiction oꝛ admi-

niſtracion

ministracion of Justice, and therfore had taken a hundred pieces of golde. The emperour commaunded, that he shuld be hanged on a galouse openly in the highe waye, wherin the emperours seruauntes shoulde moste often passe to his manours, without the citee. And whan Ulpiane, one of the sage men of his counsayle blamed his sentence, as cruell and representyng a tyrannie, he pacyently hearde hym, and aunswered immediately sayinge: The residue of my maners declareth me not to be furiouse, or to take pleasure in cruelitee, specially to theym whom I fauour and haue nerre about me. Se you not, what wormes and flyes wolde increase to consume the graine and fruites of the earth, if the pleasandnesse of the sprynge tyme and beginnyng of sommer should euer continue: and the sharpe and terrible wynter dyd not with his sharpe frostes and bytter wyndes pourge the earth of suche cupll increase? Who knoweth not, that in all thyng that is sweete, wormes be founden, whiche wyll soone consume all that they

breede

breede in, if it be not preserued by salt-
yng about it some thyng bitter or ver-
y vnsauery? If the auncient lawes
of this citee iudgeth hym to dye, that
spitefully pulleth downe or defyleth
the emperours image, or counterfay-
teth his coygne, seale or sigue ma-
nuell: of how much congruence and
more with iustice is it, that he should
suffer death, whiche with sellyng of
the administracion of Justice, pluc-
keth downe and defyleth amonge the
people the good renoume of the em-
perour? or counterfaiteth and chan-
geth the minde of the emperour, whi-
che is his veray image immortall,
wherby bothe the prince and the peo-
ple suffreth incomparable more da-
mage than by forgeyng of money.
Doe not ye beyng so wise a man, con-
sider, that he which byeth a thynge,
may sell it? And for my parte whyle
I lyue, I wyll neuer suffer any aucto-
ritee to be vsed in merchandise.
For that which I suffre, I may not
with mine honour condemne or pro-
hibite. And I can not for shame pu-
nisshe a man for sellyng that thynge

that

that he byeth, Wherfore if ye consider euery thynge well, ye shall synde no cause to blame me of cruelte, or resemble me to a tyranne.

¶ With these wordes Vlpiane found hym selfe satisfied, and wonderynge at the emperours wysedome, ceased to speake any more againste hym in any semblable iudgement.

¶ Whan he made any ordinary iudges, aduocates, or proctours, he causled theym to be openly named, requyrynge the people and geuyng theym courage, if there were cause to accuse them, to proue the crime by open witnesse. And he was wont to say, sence christen men and Jewes in the election of priestes, caused them to be in suche forme tried: it shulde be inconuenient, if the same were not vsed in the gouernours of countreys, vnto whom were committed bothe the lyues and substance of men that be vnder theim. Forseene, if they did not sufficiently proue it, and that it semed to be malicious detraction, the accusour shuld foorthwith be beheaded,

Of

¶ Of the great care & diligence that Alexander vsed about the publike weale, and of certeyne newe officers ordeyned by hym.

Capitulo. xviii.

THe householde seruauntes and counsailours of the emperour beynge well tryed, and by his owne example brought in good ordre: also the head officers, iudges, and all other that had auctorite in the publyke weale, beynge well chosen and instructed by the exemple of the emperours courte: it was a wonder to beholde, with howe lyttle difficultee, and howe soone the residue of the weale publyke was brought into a good facion, all men delytyng in vertue, and praysynge the beautie and cõmoditee therof in theyr superiours. ¶ Also reioysyng at the affabilitee and gentilnes of the noble emperour: and semblably dreadyng his seueritee, they brought at the last vertue in custome, wherby hapned, that suche vices as before semed little, and were nothyng regarded, became to all men or at the least to the more parte detestable

stable. In so muche as the emperour needed not to sende foorth any espiall to espie mens condicions. For suche as were cupll were euery where noted, and of all men disdeigned. So that by theym it hapned, as it doeth by one that is sycke in a horte feuer, whiche sycke abhorreth euery medicine that the phisicion dooeth offer to geue hym: but whan he beholdeth the phisicion drynke any thynge thereof, than is he the better content to assay of the same: But by reason that his tast is corrupted, to him al thyng that is holsome, seemeth unpleasant: be it neuer so delectable. Finally fearynge either to die, or to be compelled to receiue a more greeuouse medicine, he taketh the pocion by little and little, vntill at the last by custome of drinkyng thereof, he hath brought that pocion to be as familiar and agreable vnto his taste, as was his common and most vsuall drinke. And than dooeth he scorne bothe theim that wylfully wold die rather than they wold take medicine: and also them that be their kepers or rulers, whiche dooe suffer

theym to take onely that, which contenteth theyr appetite. Semblably dyd they, who by the emperours exemple, accostumed them selfes to vertue and honestie, eschewing suche vices, which before they had haunted.

¶ Howe themperour Alexander dyd ordeine newe officers in the weale publike, and what belonged to their auctorites. Ca. xix.

NOwe let vs retourne vnto the emperour Alexander. Whan he perceiued that by the exemple of hym, and other great officers, the people began to applye and ware apte to receiue due reformacion of the state of theyr lyuyng, he meruayloulsely therat reioysynge, gaue hym selfe wholly to the restorynge of the publyke weale to hir pristinate honour. Wherfore to the entent that nothyng shoulde escape vnreformed, he ordeined to bee in the citee, and also in the prouynces, many officers, some what moe than before were accustomed to be, appoynctyng causes

ciuile

ciuile and criminall to sundrie iurisdictions saynge: Where one man hath many matiers to ordre of sundrie effectes, it fareth with hym as it dooeth with a mans stomake: for the stomoke receiueth meates, dyuers in qualities and effectes, whiche all together can not bee by one mans nature duely concocte and digested. For some meates bee in operacion hotte, and be not apte but for a colde stomake: some contrariwyse be verie colde, and in a colde stomake wyll neuer be boiled: other meates be of grosse and harde substaunce, and requyre a stronge and mightie stomacke to endue it: other be softe and delicate, and beynge to hastily digested, it nothyng profiteth. Notwithstandynge any one of the sayde meates beyng in one stomacke, are better prepared to digestion than many, considerynge the trauayle that Nature muste haue in the seperacion of sundry qualitees, that be in dyuers meates, to prepare theym to theyr effectes, whereto they were ordeigned. And if the naturall heate in

mans bodye be not therto sufficiente, that whiche is ordeyned for nouriching of lyfe, is conuerted to corruption of bloud and other humours, whiche is cause of sickenesse. But if any meate happē to come into the stomacke, whiche meate is apt for his temperature, there shall he be perfectly concoct or boyled, and by a naturall digestion made apt for the nouryshyng and preseruacion of other membres. Accordyng to this similitude, yf one man beyng in auctorite, whiche I resemble vnto the stomacke, be he neuer so well learned or wyse, yf he take vpon him the ordryng and discussyng of all maner causes, his witte, which is in the stede of nature, shall be therwith so muche incumbred, that beyng studious or occupied about one matter, in the meane tyme an other is appayred: and yf he leaue the lyght, to reforme the seconde or thirde, the first is than in worse case than he' founde it, the parties contendyng, beyng chaufed, and in a more feruent contencion. Or in a criminall cause the offenders beyng lefte vncorrected, putyng all

feare

feare apart, not onely doe perseuere, but also increase in theyr cupl doyn: ges. Finally where one man hath the depeachynge of many matters, none one of theim may be brought to a perfect conclusion. For as muche as to euery acte belongeth opportunitee, which can neuer be founde, where many matters be enterlaced, opportunitee beyng onely espyed by a vigilant and constant studie.

¶ Moreouer where many men be in auctoritee, good wyttes shall not be hyd nor vnrewarded, and many shall applie theim to vertue and studie, vpon hope of preferment. And where as be many particular auctoritees, there shall sundry matters be the sooner depeached. This was the saying of Alexander.

¶ And therfore by the consent of the senate and people, he ordeigned first accordyng to the counsayle of Plato, certaine persons, whiche were named Conseruatours of the weale publyke: to whose office it appertained to see, that the chyldren of the Romaynes were well brought vp and instructed

accordynge to the capacitee of theyr wittes, from the age of seuen yeeres vnto sixtene, and that in theyr plaies & recreacion were nothyng dishonest,

¶ Also that at certayne tymes appointed, they were exercised in rydyng, if they were sons of gentilmen,

¶ Also they and the residue, were exercised in swimming, renning, wrastlyng, and to occupie all weapons of warre.

¶ Semblablie that the maydens duryng the sayde age, were brought vp in shamefastenesse, humblenesse, and occupacion necessary for a houswife. And that they were not seene out of theyr fathers houses, but onely in the temples, vnto the whiche women onely resorted: and that in the company of theyr mothers, or suche other as were in theyr places.

¶ Moreouer it pertayned to the sayd Conseruators, to controll euery housholder, of what estate or degree so euer he were, if there were founde any excesse in his fare, or that he had resorte of riottous persons: or that he kepte any moe seruauntes than had

roumes

roumes in theyr houses, or in some necessarie busines were continually occupyed.

¶ Also that no man, neyther in hym selfe, his wyfe, nor his seruaunts shulde excede or in any parte chaunge the apparayle that by the lawes or the emperours ordinaunces had been prouyded.

¶ Moreouer to se that no vitaylynge house, nor bordelhouse shoulde haue theyr doores open, or receiue any person, eyther before the sonne ryse, or after the sonne set: whiche was doen to the entent that euery man shoulde be knowen, that repayred to such places, and muche good hapned by that prouision.

¶ These Cõseruators were thryscore in noumbre, that is to say, for euery tribe two, Rome being deuyded into thyrtie tribes, and twyse in the weke they assembled and dyd communicate suche defaultes as they hadde founden, and foorthe with all they certified to the prouost of the citee all the defaultes, reseruynge the education of chyldren, whiche they

Conseruators.

theim selfe reformed by sharpe admonicion geuen to theyr parentes: whom yf they founde disobedyent or negligent, they certified therof the senate, who caused the sayde parentes to be punished as enemies of the publike weale of the citee. Theim which offended in the other articles, the prouost of the citee punished, accordyng to the statutes and ordinances in suche cases prouyded.

¶ The Prætours, Questors, and other lyke offices and auctorities he augmented in numbre, all be it, he deuided theyr iurisdictions, to some he appoynted onely contractes, in the whiche woorde were comprehended all thynges, wherin bargayne or promise was conteyned: and that he caused to bee extremely examined and discussed by the sayde officers: and in whom was founden any deceipte or fayth broken, he without hope of any remission or pardon, was immediately beaten with whyppes. Whiche was also the punishement of theym that had stolen priuily without any violence. The emperour sayinge:

Contracts.

Deceipte punished.

That

That it was but a fantasye and a thynge to laught at, to make a difference betwene stealyng and discepte or breakyng his bargaine, where it appereth to be no diuersitee, but onely that this hath truste and credence ioygned with it, and the other hath none, but a single iniurie. Wherefore in reason it is a hyghter offence, where, by the other meanes, not onely the thyng is gotten with as much iniustice, as yf it were stolen, but also Fayth, otherwyse called Truste, whiche is the foundacion of Justyce, and consequentely of the publyke weale, is dissolued. And therfore it ought to bee reuenged with no lesse punishement then simple theefte. Faith otherwise called Truste.

¶ Surueyours for graine to the citee he made of honest and diligent persones, and to theim he assigned particular auditours, notwithstandynge at the ende of the yere, bothe the surueyours and auditours lefte theyr offices, and other were chosen. Surueyors

¶ To theim that were his bayliffes, receiuours, surueyours and other, that procured or gathered the reue-

 Baylyffes.

nues of his crowne, he gaue competent salaries: but he fauoured theym not, callyng theym a necessary euyll. Wherfore if he perceiued, that any of theym had gathered muche ryches, he wolde take all from them, saying, Let it suffice you, that ye haue taken so longe pleasure with my goodes: and beware that ye take not from other men iniustly, leaste ye make me more angry with you.

¶ All be it, if he perceiued any of theim afterwarde to lyue vpryghtly, and to haue good wytte and lernyng, he aduaunced theym to some other roumes, wherwith they cõfessed theyr seruice to be recompensed.

¶ Fynally he neuer punished anye man greuously for his owne particular causes, and the sharpenesse that he vsed in punishyng offences agaynst the weale publyke, whan his considerations were well examined and pondered, was thought by all wyse men to be ryght expedient.

¶ To the prouost he ioygned. xiiii. whiche had been Consules, callynge theim gouernours of the citee, commaundynge

maundynge theym to heare with the prouoſt, the aſſayzes of the citee. And that no ſentence were geuen, noz acte made, but that they all, oz the moze parte were therat preſent.

¶ The deteſtacio that Alexander had vnto idelneſſe, and the vices thereof procedyng, and of dyuerſe prouiſions that he made againſt it. Capitulo .xx.

THis moſte noble emperour was ſo rooted in vertue and feruent zeale towarde the weale publike, that all vice was to him almoſt intollerable. And foz as muche as he perceiued that idelneſſe that is to ſay: Ceaſyng from neceſſary occupacion oz ſtudy, was the ſinke, whiche receiued all the ſtynkinge canelles of vice, whiche once beinge brimme full, ſodeinely renneth ouer thzough the citee, and with his peſtiferous ayze infecteth a great multitude of people er it may be ſtopped & cleanſed. And that not withſtandyng, the people beyng ones

Idelnes.

ones corrupted with this pestilence, shall with great difficultee, and with longe tract of time be deliuered. And yet ere that shall be brought well to passe, a great part of the people shall perishe: whiche this wyse and vertuouse emperour considerynge, and hauyng therof meruailouse care, to the entent to withdrawe men from all excuses of idelnesse, he with an incomparable prudence ordeigned for euery astate some forme of exercise to be necessarily or vertuously occupyed, beginnyng at the base people or commuuers, whiche were most in noumbre, and procedyng forth to euery other degree or condicion.

Vile occupacion.

¶ First, al vile occupacion or labour, wherby nature mought be corrupted, or bodily strength decayed, he caused onely to be exercised by bondemen or straungers, that is to say, not beyng citesens,

Citesins of Rome.

¶ Semblably, he wolde not suffre any citesen to bee a merchaunt aduenturer, nor to sell any thyng by retaile, that he him selfe wrought not, or wer not made by his owne prouysyon, or

studis

studie, saying: That the Romaines by trauailyng into sundrie countreys, gathered and broughte into the citee with theyr merchaundise, the vices of other people, whiche apprehended by other, (as the more parte of men dooe delite in new fangleneſſe) is the cauſe of more damage to the publyke weale than an hundred tymes the value of the marchaundiſe maie be commodiouſe.

¶ Moreouer findyng ones a delite to accumulate treaſure, and deſiryng to excede one an other in richeſſe, they attende ſo much to theyr owne particular lucre, that they abandone all liberalitee, benenolence and charitee, excepte it be very fewe.

¶ Finally they bee neuer to the publike weale profitable. Alſo they that retayle that which is bought of the craftes man that worketh it, they not onely defraude other of the iuſte price, contrary to the direct order of equitee, but alſo to conſume the time idelly, beyng not occupied neyther in bodely exercise, nor in vertuouſe or commodiouſe ſtudie. Therfore to ſuch

practiſe

practise or mistery, he admitted onely straungers. And also to bryng out of other countreys, and to sel to the citesins all such thynges as therof was none growynge in Italy, or not in sufficient quantitee, as wolles, mettall and sylke. Foreseene that none of it were wrought in any place out of Italy. And of suche straungers it was lefull to the Romaynes, to bie in grosse, and retayle. All be it there shoulde no moe retayle than were appointed by the Senate: and those also should be examined and assigned by the prouost of the citee and suche as were to hym associate. And the sayde merchaunt straungers were by the emperours commaundemente very courteisely entertayned, and so were all other straungers, whiche repaired to the citee, to by there any thynge, or els to practise ane excellent connynge or crafte, and were exonerate of all charges for the warres, excepte it were onely for the defence of the citee. But of theym he suffred to be but a certaine numbre, whiche was not laufull for theym to ex-

reede. And vnto theim were assigned of the Romaynes certaine iudges and officers, which yerely also were chaunged. But nowe to treate how he kept the people from idelnesse.

¶ Fyrst he prouided that where ther was not any artifice or crafte necessarie, but that it mought be founde within the citee, which he ordred in this wyse.

¶ He knewe euery yere ones by the officers called Censores, howe muche people were dwellynge in the citee of euery age.

¶ Also by theym whiche were called Ediles, how many householdes there were of euery crafte. Than wolde he diligently enserche, of what perfection theyr woorkes were, wherin they were occupied: and if he founde therin muche lacke, so that the biers shuld suffer detriment, than enioned he the seller thereof that he shoulde no more woorke to sale, vntyll he were instructed more perfectly. Notwithstandyng that person was compelled to woorke vnder an other man, whiche was more perfecte, vntyll his

woorke

woorke were commended.

¶ Moreouer he ordeined, that after the children of the communers coulde write and reade perfectly, they were sette to some artifice or crafte. But if within one yere it appered, that they were vnapt therunto, or that it were muche contrariouse to theyr nature: than the Conseruatours examinynge as muche as they coulde, to what craft or science necessary theyr wyttes were moste apte, vnto that shoulde they forthwith be sette, to learne of theim whiche were good workemen. And therefore he gotte out of all partes of the empyre the moste cunnyng and perfect craftesmen in euery science to dwell in the citee, not only compellyng them by his auctoritee, but allurynge theym with yerely stipendes of grayne, to the fyndyng of their householdes, and also to be free from all maner exactions in peace or warre, to instruct in theyr craftes perfectly the youth of the citee.

¶ The craftes, which he wolde that the more parte of Romaines shoulde occupie, were those, wherin both the

bodie

bodie and witte moughe be exercised, whiche he sayd perteined to men that were free of condicion: other occupacions, wherin was bodily labour onely, he said was for bondmen and beastes. And therfore within the territorie of the citee of Rome, and in the manours and fermes of the gentilmen Romaines, he ordeined, that baillifes and surueyours of husbandrye shoulde be freemen and citezins, and that the ploughe men and labourers shoulde be bondemen and straungers. In other citees besydes Rome, some of these thynges were chaunged after the necessitee and nature of the people, wherin this emperour alway had a meruailouse consideracion.

¶ After this diligent prouision, if any one of the people had been founde idell by the space of one whole day, except in feastfull dayes and other times of solace appoynted, he was foorthwith examined, and hauing no leefull and approued excuse, he was fyrst whypped, and after by the Conseruatours committed to one of the craftes, that he was of, and for euery

day that he was openly seene to be ydle, the persone, vnto whom he was committed, shoulde for a moneth set hym to any labour that he list, as his slaue or bondeman, geuynge to hym meate and drynke onely. And it was not to any other man leefull, duryng that tyme, to geue hym meate or drinke, or to speake with him, otherwyse than to rebuke hym. And after the sayd correction, the sayd Conseruatours shoulde see that he were bestowed where he mought worke with a competent lyuing.

¶ The semblable order was diligently, and (as I mought saye) exactely kepte by the emperours streicte commaundment, bothe in Greece and Italy. And where execution any tyme fayled, or was neglected, the officers were deposed with open reproch, and forfaiture of the thyrde part of theyr substaunce: whiche was employed immediately on grayne, and distributed equally and freely amonge the people well occupied, within the citee or towne where suche thynge hapned. And with great difficultee the sayde officers

officer in suche wyse deposed, coulde euer after obteyne of the emperour, to come in auctoritee. By the feare wherof, and the sayd distribucion vnto the people, this ordinance was neuer omitted, duryng the lyfe of Alexander. Wherfore it was a wonder to beholde, how sodeinely idelnesse was euery where excluded, and cunning in euery occupacion augmented.

¶ Of baines and places of exercises, made for the people of Rome, by the emperour Alexander. Capitulo. xxi.

MOreouer to the entent the people shoulde not be to muche fatigate with continuall labour, wherby theyr bodies shoulde become decrepite and vnapte to the warres, he not onely amended and inlarged the hotte bathes made by dyuers emperours and prynces before hym, wherin the people of Rome accustomed to refresshe & make cleane theyr bodies, but also made newe bathes more pleasaunt and sumptuouse, ioyngyng them to those that were made

by Nero the emperour, conueighyng into them water naturally hotte, renuynge by conduites of marble from mountaines in Naples, by the space of. 200. miles from the citee of Rome. And also he brought into some partes of the baines colde water from the moste pure and delectable sprynges: the people to vse the one or the other at theyr owne pleasures.

¶ Moreouer he bought certaine houses, whiche stode nyghe to the sayde baine, and caused theim to be pulled downe, and that place he made to be leuelled, and to be sette with younge trees in the most pleasaunt facion, hauyng there large places, wherin the people after they wer bained, mought renne, leape, or wrastle, or vse any other semblable exercise: to the whiche places the sayd trees gaue a commodiouse and pleasaunt vmbrage.

Places of exercise.

And in the wrastlynge places the grounde was thicke couered with *Camamile*, *Origanum*, and other lyke grasses, bothe swete in sauour and softe to fall vpon. Also the sayde emperour muche delited in the beholdynge

of the

of the sayde exercises. Wherfore it was the moste parte of his pastime or solace, to see the people exercised in fourme aforesayde, or els the gentilmen to assay theim selfe in fourme of battaile, as hereafter shalbe declared.

¶ To the sayde baines and places of exercise were assigned a number of kepers and ministers, to whom were geuen sufficient salaries. And those places were alway kept so nete and delectable, that to the eyes or nose, was neuer any thynge vnpleasaunt or noyfull: by the whiche clennesse the Citee was meruailously preserued from sundry sickenesses, whiche vndoubtedly dooe growe of corrupte erhalacions, , ventynge out of mens bodyes. And for that cause to auoyde occasion of pestilence and other horrible diseases, this emperour prohibited by speciall lawes, ingurgitacions, banketres, late suppers and longe. Moreouer causynge the controllers of marketes (of whom there were diuers) whiche were euery yere chosen of speciall honest men, and not auaricious or nedie, to haue

Corrupt sauours.

a bigilant eye on the market, that not onely vitayles were solde by a due weyght and measure, and at prices sette by the senate, but also that they were not in any parte corrupted in sauour or substance, and that no such thyng were solde for vitayle, wherin any poyson naturally mought be ingendred and hydde, as muscheromes frogges, and other lyke thinges, foūden out rather by wanton appetites, than by nature ingendred to serue for mans sustinaunce: And in these thynges, yf any lacke were perceiued to be, the emperour and senate with a diligent scrutinie founde out the person, by whose defaute it happened, with also the controller, whiche seemed to be neglygent. And the seller was accordyng to the lawes sharpely punished. The controller or other officer, if there were founden in hym negligence, was with great rebukes expelled from his office, and had the tenth parte of his mouable gooddes confiscate: whiche beyng brought into money, and bestowed on wheate, was distributed amonge the people,

whiche

whiche dwelled in that parte of the citee, where the offence was committed.

¶ It is here to be considered, that suche summes as were forfayted by corrupt or negligente officers, came neuer to the vse of the emperour, nor he gaue them to any person: but employng it on corne, he caused it to be distributed amonge the people. Which in myne opinion was a meruailouse policie. For therby he declared, that he vsed seueritee, not for his owne particular aduauntage. And also the people, whiche suffred detriment by the lacke of the officers, receiued the benefite of that whiche was forfaited: whiche caused a multitude to lie alway in awayte to finde some misdemeanour in the officers, to the intent they mought therby be the better relieued. And the officers at the laste became meruailouse circumspect.

Forfaytures imployed.

And fynally the prince for his wysedome and charitee not onely praised, but also as an vniuersall father of all his people was moste entierlye beloued.

¶ Touchyng suche persones as were in extreeme pouertee, and eyther by greuouse sickneese or feeble age, were decrepite, or otherwise not able to labour, I wyll after the next chapiter declare the incomparable prudence of this excellent emperour.

¶ Of the magnificence of the emperour Alexander in sumptuouse and necessary workes, and in what exercises he caused the nobilitee and gentilmen of Rome to be occupied. Capi. xxii.

BEsydes the baines, which I late remembred, made in the citee of Rome, Alexander made also in euery realme beyng subiect to the empire of Rome, common baines: he also made great and stronge barnes in many citees, for the people to kepe in theyr priuate stuffe and gooddes, suche as had not of theyr owne priuate houses of sufficient strength for that purpose. He made also manye faire houses and mancion places, whiche immediately he gaue to his frendes, whom he perceiued to bee

Barnes.

moste

moste trustie and honest. In a place called *Baianum*, he made woorkes magnifike or sumptuouse, garnished with images of theym whiche were foigned to hym by any affinitee.

¶ He made meres and pooles to bee wondered at, bringyng the sea vnto theym, and causing them to be repleneshed with straunge and principall fysches. Also he edified great and wonderfull bridges, and repaired all theim whiche were made by Traiane, leauynge notwithstandynge to Traiane the name and honour therof. Meres & pooles.

¶ In the market place of Marua, he sette vp great images of the moste noble emperours, some on foote, and some on horsebacke, with theyr tirles ouer theyr heades, and betwene euery image a great pyller of brasse conteynynge all theyr gestes and actes worthy remembraunce. Images.

¶ He made also a Basilike, or place, where ciuile controuersies were herde and iudged, whiche contei gned in bredth an. 100. feete, and in length a thousande: and stode all vppon pillers of *Porpherie*, whiche is a stone of Basilyke. Porpherie

purple colour: and the pillers were garnished with images of noble princes, Grekes and Romaines, wrought in pure whyte marble, with theyr names ouer theyr heades: and vnder theyr feete theyr actes wrought also in veraie small images of copper in moste liuely and quicke demonstracion. But in one kynde of magnificence he passed all other. For where diuerse cities by earth quakes hadde ben frushed, and therewith defourmed, he of the reuenewes of the same countreis, gaue great summes of money to the reedifying of theym. And many he cities restored to their pristinate beautie and strength, diuerse he made more substanciall and sure.

Townes repayred.

¶ There was no towne of reputacion in his tyme decayed, but that he causled the occasion therof to be serched for, & to be forthwith reformed.

¶ The hauens of Italy and Sicile, he causled not onely to be clensed and repaired, but also to be made more stronger, to defende outwarde hostilitee.

Hauens.

¶ Moreouer for the exercise of them, whiche

whiche were aboue the astate of the common people, he repayred and new made many places and thynges necessarie whiche is expedient to be put in remembraunce.

¶ Fyrste he vysyted all the libraries that were in the citee: And where he founde any bookes defourmed eyther with auncientee or by negligent kepyng, or by any other meanes, he caused them to be newe written and laid in theyr places, and the howses to be not onely clensed, but also made more ornate and necessarie: As makynge for euery boke an huche locked, to the intent that whan any man came to studie there, he shoulde haue no moe bokes to loke on, then one of the kepers of the libraric (whereof there were a good numbre reteyned to geue theyr attendaunce, haupnge therfore competent salaries) shoulde deliuer vnto them. And before they departed, the sayde keper shoulde peruse the leaues of the bookes, that they loked in, to thintent that if they dyd cut or rent any out of the volume, they shuld be apprehended, and by the officers

Libraries. Bookes.

called

called Ediles, committed vnto prison, and there shoulde remaine vntyll they had repaired sufficiently the bookes that they had defaced, and also caused an other like boke to be wrytten, and bestowed in the sayde librarie. And yf any suche person had escaped by negligence or fauour of the keper, and the defaulte founden by some other, the keper was expelled from his office without hope of remission, and was also compelled to redoubte the harme in lykewyse as he should haue doen, which committed the offence, if he immediatly had ben apprehended.

¶ He made also a new librarie, garnishyng it as well with moste principall woorkes in euery science, as also with the images of the authours, wrought most excellently bothe in imbosed woorke and portraiture: whiche librarie was deuided into sundry galeries, accordyng to diuerse sciences, all builded rounde in the fourme of a circle, and beynge separate with walles one from an other: And in that porcion that belonged to Geometrie and Astronomie, were aboue

Peincture.

the

the walles great chartes and tables, conteignyng sundry lynes, figures, descripcions, dimensions, or measurynges, conuersions of sterres, mocions, and reuolucions of planettes, spheres and imaginarie circles, with also materiall spheres, quadrantes, Astrolabes, and all other instrumentes belongynge to those sciences.

¶ Semblable tables wer in that porcion, that perteined to Arithmetike and musicke, conteignyng the sundrie proporcions of noumbres and tunes, and therto was added harpes, lutes, organes softe in sownyng. For all instrumentes that were lowde and made greate noyse, were excluded thense, the cause appeareth to wyse readers.

¶ The place whiche was compassed about with the sayde libraries, was also rounde, and decked with pleasaunt imagerie, and hauynge seates commodeously about it: where they that came to studie in the libraries, mought walke or sitte at theyr pleasure, and communicate eche with other that which they had read or perceiued

ceiued. And to these places there kayled not to come dayly a great numbre of gentilmen.

¶ For other necessarie exercise, the emperour inclosed with a hygh wall, a grounde ioignyng to his owne palaice, conteigning in circuite one Italien myle and a halfe, whiche within the wall was inuironed with a galery of three heightes, for men to stand in and beholde, which galeries were also of stone. And in the space that two men mought stande & talke, there was a small piller of marble, decked with images of menne that deserued noble remembraunce. The place was deuyded or sette out with many large alaies, plaine & streyght, conteigning in bredth one hundred feete, and in length one thousande feete. Those alaies were florzed with plaister, and the residue was thycke spread with fine graste and camomil, hauing here and there bankes for men to rest them when they were wery.

Plotte of palayce.

¶ The ponge gentilmen of the citee, whan they repayred to the palaice to geue theyr attendaunce, they in the meane

meane tyme that the emperour was in preparyng him forwarde, exercised them selfes, some in the sayd alayes, in rennyng or castynge the ball, some in the greene places wrastelyng, leappyng, and castynge of the darte. And in the galeries stode other of the nobilitee and gentilmen, suche as lusted to beholde them.

¶ And without the walles were great and hygh trees of cipresse and fyrre, with brode toppes, conueighed thither with great industry: whiche trees dyd cast ouer the walles a pleasant umbrage or shadowe, and defended them that did exercise from the behement heate of the sonne beames. And also in wynter kepte the place more mylde and temperate, in resolupng or breakyng the violent and colde blastes of the Northerne and Westerne wyndes.

¶ Oftentymes themperour him selfe delyted to come and beholde the sayd exercises: but in his owne persone he neuer exercised hym selfe but priuily, and a few beyng present, to the intent that if he were vanquisshed in anye

feate

feate (as sometyme it happened, although fewe men surmounted hym in strength and deliuernesse) he woulde notgeue occasion to be dispraised, and had in contempt of his subiectes.

¶ Whan by extreme heate in the sommer, or by rayne and other vehement tempestes of wynter, the sayde exercises mought not bee vsed: than the younge gentilmen repayred some to the sayde libraries, and passed the time vertuously in readyng, writing or playinge on instrumentes: diuerse haunted the scholes of philosophers, rethoricians, and poetes (of the whiche sorte there were at that tyme in Rome a great noumbre) and hearde theim eyther recite theyr owne wooркes, or expounde other old authours. Many wolde resorte to the common houses called *Theatres*, and purposing some matter of philosophy, wold there dispute openly. Other wolde pike out of some auncient storie some question concernyng marcial or ciuile policie, and in commendyng or discommending it, declare their opinions and sentences in the fourme of a consulta-

sulracion: Whiche exercise was of no little importance to the increace of witte and prouision of counsaylours. And at suche exercise the Emperour principally delyted to be present in his owne persone, as well to haue knowlage of other mens wittes and towardnes, as also to gather of their reasons some sentence or matter, whi che beeyng kepte in remembraunce, mought perchaunce profyte hym in matter more serious or ernest occasion.

¶ Besides these persons, there failed not to be some, more geuen to playe than to studie, which also had a faire and large place in the palaice, where they played at the chesse and other lyke games, wherein they mought be pleasantly occupied, wherin the winnynge was neyther golde nor siluer, but onely victorie and commendacion of witte and diligence. Notwithstandyng it was leefull for theim at suche games to play for money, so it exceded not a summe certaine, which was assessed by themperour & senate. At dice it was not to any man leefull

to playe: The emperour hauyng this sentence alwaye in his mouthe. Our
» forefathers trusted in wisedome and
» prowesse, & not in fortune: & desyred
» victorie for renoume & honour, & not
» for money: And that game is to be ab
» horred, wherin wit sleepeth, and idel
» nesse with couetise is onely learned.
And for the mortall hate and indigna cion, that he bare to this losse of time, (for so ought it rather to bee called, thā a play) he made a law, which was ratified by the auctorite of all the se= nate & people, That if any man were found playing at dice, he should be ta= ken for frantike, or as a foole natu= rall, whiche coulde not well gouerne him selfe: and his goodes and landes should be committed to sage & discrete personages, appointed by the whole senate, which imploying on him that, which was thought necessarie for his astate and degree, shoulde bryng truc= ly that whiche remained to the com= mon treasory: to the intent that whan he returned to thryfte, or was seene by a good space of yeres, to vse good husbandrye, in employing well and honestly

Dice play= ing.

honestly that porcion that he had, he shoulde be eftsoones restored as well to his landes and goodes, as to the reuenues and profittes, that were growen in the meane tyme, whyle they were confiscate, or in the rule of his tutours.

¶ Finally nexte to theues and extor- Dice players.
cioners themperour most hated them, whiche after the sayde lawe beynge made, were found to be dice players, and would not haue any of them called eyther to office or counsayle.

¶ Of hospitalles and other prouision made by Alexander for men that were decrepite, or so diseased, that they coulde not labour.

Capitulo. xxiii.

ON a tyme the emperour Alexander visiting all partes of the citee of Rome, to beholde how the temples and other solemne edifices were kepte and repayred, in passyng through the streetes he beheld a great noumbre of persons, some defaced with horrible diseases, and some mutilate of theyr membres, as lac-

kynge armes or legges, or the necessarie vse of the one or the other, which he considerynge with a seuere & graue countenance, at the last saide to a noble man called Julius Frontinus, who at that tyme was Pretor or gouernour of the citee vnder the Emperour: What sort of people be these, whiche beyng horryble and noious to beholde, dooe seeme vnprofitable to the weale publyke, sens they can not labour, but consume those thynges, whyche are ordeigned for theim that can defende the weale publike and vs whan occasion requireth? Than aunswered Frontinus.

¶ Sir, they be your naturall subiectes, wherof part be depriued of their membres by chance of warre, wherin they haue serued you and your noble progenitours Emperours of Rome: some do lacke the office of their membres, by naturall infirmitees: the residue, whyche to your maiestee, and al other semeth to be an horrible spectable, are men attached with greenouse sickenesses, whyche dooe happen to theim (as phisitions doth say)

by

by the putrifaction of naturall humours. And wherof (sayd the Emperour) procedeth suche putrifaction of humours, suppose you? Truely (sayde Frontinus) as I haue redde and hearde saye, it commeth of one of these causes, eyther for as muche as great abundaunce of superfluouse humours, thicke and clammie, be dispersed in the bodie, whereby the pores (whiche are little hooles in the skinne throughout all the bodie, that be inuisible) be stopped: so that the exhalacion or breathe incloſed in the bodie, maye not issue out by the same pores: Whereunto a straunge or vnnaturall heate beynge ioygned, maketh the sayde putrifaction. Sometyme it happeneth of meates or drinkes, beyng corrupted ere they be receiued. Sometyme where as well the ayre as the bodies of men be distempred. Also it hapneth sometyme by the wrathe of god, where he is offended or neglected in suche duitie as belongeth vnto hym, as it hath been perceiued oftentimes in this citee, and declared by propheres.

Ye haue answered right well (saide the emperour) vnto my demaunde. But yet for as muche as I suppose, that ye call them superfluouse humours, whiche are more than conuenient to the naturall proporcion and temperature of the body, wherin they be, I pray you tell me, if ye can, whereof commeth that superfluouse abundaunce, and by what occasion doo they become thicke and clammy, whereby the pores (as ye say) be stopped.

Truely, sayde Frontine, as I haue heard of physicions, and also dayly experience and reason declareth, it proceedeth of repletion and idelnesse, that is to saye, by eatynge immoderately aboue that whiche naturall heate maye concocte in the stomake, also ingorgeyng meate vppon meate, ere that meate, whiche was fyrste eaten, be fully digested: also by not vsyng competent exercise, whereby nature is comforted, and prepareth hir selfe to labour about the concoctynge and digestyng of that, whiche the bodie receiueth.

Ye haue nowe satisfied me (sayde

the emperour) & well to the purpose.
¶ Now beholde (sayde he) Frontine honourable father, what a pernicious negligence was in our predecessours emperours, besydes the yl exemple of diuers of theim, which haue syke ill tutours, suffred the people of Rome theyr pupilles so many yeres, dayly to consume them selues by lycence in lyuyng, whiche hath brought into the citee suche horrible sickneste, which I wyll prouide to expel thens, if it be possible.
¶ The next day folowyng he assembled his counsayle, which (as I saide before) was of fiftie reuerende personages: to whom he declared the communication betwene hym and Frontine, who at that tyme was present, beyng one of the counsaylours, affirmyng that he was fully determyned, as well to prouide for theim, whiche eyther were attached with the sayde horrible sicknesses, and for thoke whi che were by warres for the weale publike mutulate in theyr membres, or maimed, as also to put cleane away, or at the leaste way to minishe the ori-

ginall occasions of the sayde sickenes. Whiche noble enterprise beyng of all theim that herde hym commended: Finally it was thought expedient by the noble emperour, and by all his sayde counsayle approued, that within the citee of Rome shoulde bee two sayre and large hospitalles builded, to receiue and kepe them, which were so mutulate or maymed in the warres, that they coulde not exercise theym selfes in manuell occupacion (for all other labours were doon by captiues, bondemen, and slaues, and the Romaines were thereof discharged.) Also without the citee in some village nigh to it, whereby passed some ryuer, shoulde also be edified two other hospitalles, ample and necessarie for fiue hundred sicke persones, vnto whom should be appointed fiue phisicions, substancially learned in phisike, and well experienced Also fiue expert surgeons, with two apoticaries, men of good credence and trust, whiche should be bounden to haue alway all necessary drougges, vigorous in theyr force and vertue, without

sophistii

sophisticacion or other deceite in simples or compoundes. Also that they shoulde burne or vtterly reiecte all thynges, whiche were eyther corrupted, or so dried, that it shoulde seeme to the phisicions (who shoulde as oft as they lyst examine the wares) to be noyouse, or to medicine vnprofitable.

¶ The meate whiche was ordeygned for these sicke persons, shoulde be so litteell in quantitee, that it was lesse than sufficient for any whole person.

¶ And whan it was asked of the emperour, why he would that they shuld haue so little a pitaunce, he answered merily, that he did it for three speciall considerations.

¶ The first was, that he had redde in the bokes of Galene, the moste excellent phisicion, that the more one nourished bodies vncleane, and not sufficiently pourged, the more he did hurt them.

¶ Also if the meate were more than the sicke men coulde eate, the ministers about theim would sel that whiche was left: and whan they had gathered thereby muche money, eyther

they wolde liue therwith riottously, and neglecte theyr duities in attendyng the sicke folke, or els with that gaine prouyde for them selfes, somemore welthy and easy lyuyng: so that in conclusion, the sicke people should be destitute of conuenience ministers to awayte on theim.

¶ The thyrde consyderacion was, that yf the sicke men had abundaunce of good meate, many of them remembryng, that whan they were whole, they shoulde be constreigned to some occupacion, and that they should not than eate so muche meate and soo good, as they eate in the hospitall, where they lay well at ease. Wherefore perchaunce whan they were whole, they would fynde the meanes to fall eftsoones in theyr sayde sickenesse or other syke, that they mought be brought agayne to the hospitall.

¶ Suche miserable nature remayneth in some men, that to lyue idelly and voluptuously, they wyll choose rather to be sicke than to be healed.

¶ These allegacions of the wise emperour was than confirmid by dyuerse,

uerse, whiche had knowen it by long experience. Concerning them whiche were mutulate or maymed in warres for the weale publyke, they shoulde haue a more plentiouse entertaynement, if he were in pouerte or lacked frendes. But they whiche were not in that necessitee, shoulde haue appointed by the Senate and the emperours consent, an honest proporcion in corne and wine, to spende in theyr owne houses, as a thankefull remembraunce of the Senate and people for theyr good endeuoure whyles they were able.

¶ Moreouer to prouyde for tyme to come, that is to saye, that the causes before remembred, whereof the sayde horrible sicknesses proceded, he affirmed, that the beste and moste sure meane was to pacyfie the ire of god, and to make him benevolent vnto the people, whiche shoulde be moste assuredly doen, by excludynge horrible vices and abhominacions out of the citee, and to honour god purely. As for the dispolicion of mens bodies, made apte by surfeytes and idelnesse

to receiue

to receiue corrupcion, and conse-quently horrible sickenesses, he deter-mined to make an Edict or imperiall ordinaunce, confirmed by an acte of the Senate, that no man shoulde vse moe than two meales in one day, and that there shoulde be at the least, syre houres betwene euery meale. Also that the Censors or correctoures of maners, shoulde take diligent heede, that yf they founde, or were infour-med, that any man of the comminal-tee went to his meale, before he had wrought sufficiently in some occupa-cion, that the same Censors shoulde cause hym to bee apprehended and kepte in some prison, by the space of three dayes, haupng but ones in the daye onely, one ounce of breade, and a little water, without any other nou-rishement: the Emperour here re-herspnge a prouerbe, whereof he had hearde parte of the Christen men: Let him eate that laboreth, for he that la-boreth not, is not worthy that thing that he eateth. And suche as mought not be withdrawen from idelnesse, he woulde haue theim sent into Spaine,

to digge

to digge for golde: or into the iles called Cassiterides, to labour in tynne workes. And if within a while they laboured well without coercion or grutchyng, those shoulde be reuoked into the citee, there to applie diligently theyr occupation.

¶ He woulde also that the common people shoulde not haue at one meale, but one kynde of flesche or fysshe, and that shoulde not be eyther delicate, or in great quantitee. And yf any man were founde doyngе otherwyse, he shoulde forfaite to the common treasourie double the value of the meate, whyche he had for that meale prouyded. And that no gentilman should haue moe than three sundry dyshes at one meale, besydes fruite: nor any Senatour aboue foure diuers dishes, and one kynde of fruite yf he lyst. Which noumbre he him selfe dyd not excede, althoughe no lawe did therto compell hym. He woulde not that any citesin shuld resort to opē tauerne, but that euery man shoulde haue his prouysion in his owne house. And that tauerners and common Cookes

shoulde

shoulde serue onely for theym, whyche dwelled out of the citee, and came thyther for some necessarie busynesse. And if any citezin were founde in tauerne eatyng or drynkyng, he shoulde be sent for to the Censors, & be sharply rebuked: At the seconde tyme, excluded out of all assembles, and noted euer after as a manne out of credence or possibilitee to any preferment. At the thirde tyme, he shulde be sent to the mines, and there remaine, vntyll he seemed to haue amended his maners.

¶ A gentilman shoulde be at the first tyme rebuked. At the seconde tyme, lose the name of a gentilman, and be reckened amonge the base people. The thirde tyme his gooddes shoulde be committed to a tutour, whereof he should haue no porcion, vntill it were well perceiued, that he had vtterlye lefte resortyng to tauernes.

¶ A senatour, beyng founde in suche places, shoulde incontinentely be discharged out of the senate: beyng (during his lyfe) without hope to bee therto restored.

Whan

¶ Whan the emperour Alexander had concluded theſe thynges with his owne counſaylours, he ſoone after came into the ſenate, and there recited in an eloquent and ſobre oracion, the ſayde articles, declarynge, what feruent deſyre he had to ſaue the people of Rome, not onely againſt outwarde hoſtilitee, but alſo againſt inwarde perylles and conſumption of theyr bodies by horryble ſickeneſſes: whiche oracion finiſhed, all the ſenate with teares in theyr eyes for gladdenes, in the name of theim ſelfes and the people, rendred moſt hertie thankes to the emperours maieſtee. And forthwith without any exception or miſlikyng of any one thing, they confirmed it by an acte of the Senate.

And the nexte daye the Tribunes aſſembled the people, and declared to theym all that precedd: which they ſo ioyouſely heardc and receiued, that they ratified it with their common conſentes, with theſe acclamacions.

Noble Alexander, we pray the gods, c
that they haue no leſſe care of your ma c
ieſtee thā ye haue for vs. Moſte happy c
be we that

that we haue you among vs. Noble & Iserander, the gods preserue you, the gods defēd you, procede forth in your purpose. We ought to loue you as our father, to honour you as our lord, to meruail at you as a god here liuing among vs. Therto they added. Noble emperour, take what ye wil of our treasure and substance to accomplishe your purpose.

¶ The emperour hering of this liberal offer, caused to be answered in his behalfe, by Frontine his prētor. The emperour thanketh you, but nothyng will he charge you with, touching the building & furnishing of the said. iiii. hospitals, for he wyll doue it of his owne treasure: only two thinges he requireth of you, which shal not be burdeinouse to you. First, that ye ceasse not to pursue & obey cōtinually al the saide statutes and ordinaunces. The seconde, that ye wyll be content, that suche common reuenues, which seeme to him vainely emploied & against the weale publike, may without any grut chyng of your parte, be layde to the maintenaunce of thys said hospitalles.

Thereat

¶ Thereat all the people eftsoones with one voice cried: Doe noble emperour what shall seeme to you good. For your moste blessed nature can not erre or doe amisse any thynge that ye purpose. Hereat the emperour reioysyng, & remembring that longe tyme before he thought that the playes called Florales & Lupercales, and the abhominable ceremonies of Isis (in the which were shewed by men and women naked most abhominable mocions and tokens of lecherie) were prouokers and nourishers of beastely vyce: he therfore by the consent of the senate, abolysshed the sayde playes and ceremonies: And the reuenues, whiche belonged to the maintenance of them, beyng very great, he appointed to laye them vnto the sayde hospitalles, with some parte of his owne possessions, which he had purchased.

¶ Finally the sayd foure hospitalles within the space of one yere were buylded on the ryuer of Tyber, in the most ample and magnifike facion: so that all the chaumbres of the sycke people were so made, that the doores

of theim were tenne feete aboue the grounde, and distant one from an other twentie feete, euery chambre hauyng his baine, and freshe water conueighed into euery one of theim by a cundite, theyr places of easement ouer the ryuer, the wyndowes lyeng north and northeast, the floores of great thycke plankes close ioigned. In the nether storie were the sellers, larders, wardropes, and suche other offices. At the southe syde were like many chambres, the windowes opened towarde the northe: the kitchins and lodgeynges of officers and ministers, whiche shoulde serue the sicke men, were at the west ende. At the east ende, hauyng a prospect into the northe, was the ware houses, whiche serued for medicines: to theim were ioigned the lodgeynges of the apoticaries, phisicions, and surgeons, and they were wyght fayre and honestely furnyshed.

¶ Of no lesse magnificence were the two hospitals in the citee, but rather more costely, whereby the beautie of Rome was muche augmented. These thynges

thynges beyng stablished, the senate, toke on them the gouernance of them, appountyng euery yere by lotte. x. senatours to be thereof surueyours and controllers of all the officers and other ministers. And the same senatoys at the ende of theyr yere to make accompte openly to the Tribunes and people, of the implopment of euery parcell of the sayde reuenues. And yf any were founde in arrerage, he shuld be compelled immediately to paye to the treasory of the sayde hospitalles, foure tymes as muche as the arrerage amounted to. Finally, so muche commoditee happened vnto the citee of Rome by the sayde hospitalles and other ordinances before rehersed, that within very fewe yeres after, no foule sickenesse was perceiued to be in the citee, nor ydell persone: by occasion wherof a great part of the chambres in the sayde hospitalles were vacant, and muche of the reuenues were saued: whiche beyng brought to the cõmon treasourie, afterwarde eased the people of taxes in tyme of warre, to their no little comfort and quietnesse.

¶ In howe sundry wyse Alexander exercised his owne persone, so that he was neuer vnprofitably occupied. Capitulo. xxiiii.

THe mynde of this noble emperour was so feruently feere and determined, to the good gouernance and aduancement of the weale publike, and the conseruacion of the same, that in eight the first yeeres of his empire, which was the most parte of his reigne, in as muche as he reigned but. xiii. yeres and. ix. dayes, he dyd almost none other thyng, but cõtinually sit with his counsaylours, whiche were neuer fewer than fiftie men excellent in learning and vertue, tractyng and deuysyng thynges expedient for the weale publyke. And by the exaumple of Augustus the emperour, he reported to the whole senate ones in a monethe, suche thynges, whereupon they were concluded, with the principall reasons, whiche thereto induced theim: whiche yf the more parte of the Senate semblablye lyked,

lyked, than were the prouisiõs or ordinaunces deuysed, by their sentence approued, and incontinently enacted and publyshed. And to the entent he would not haue his labours, and the auctorite of the senate frustrate by the lacke of execution. Notwithstandyng that he had many espialles (as I sayde before) to awayte the defautes of officers, he vsed many tymes to disguise hym selfe in dyuers straunge facions, as sometyme in the habite of a scholer of philosophie, commen out of Grece, and spekyng nothyng but Greeke, which he did most exquisitely: oftentimes like a marchaunt, come out of Syria, or Persia, whiche had than but one language, & that spake the emperour naturally, for as muche as he was borne in Syria. And hauyng with hym one or two men of that countrey, which he dyd counterfaite, he lyke a schoolar or seruaunt would one day haunte one parte of the citee, an other day an other parte: And most politikely fynde occasion to see the state of the people, with the industrie or negligence of theym that

here officers, which progresse he would neuer discouer to any man, but onely to Vlpiane, or one or two moe of his most secret counsailours or seruauntes, neither before that he beganne it, nor after: and to them that accompanied hym, he commaunded, that they shoulde kepe it euer secrete, as they woulde auoyde his moste greeuouse displeasure. And in deede, duryng his life, it was by them neuer discouered. But sometyme he coulde not so escape vnknowen, but that he was sometyme perceiued, but dreadynge his seueritee, they that mette with hym, and knewe hym, durste not salute hym, or make any signe of knowlage vnto hym. But whan that they had disclosed it, all they that hearde it, examined theyr owne actes: and all they, whiche at that tyme hadde dooen any thyng worthy to be reproued, liued in dreade, loking to be therfore corrected, or at the leaste wayes blamed. Contrariwise, they whiche had dooen any thynge worthy commendacion, tooke meruailouse comfort, douting not, but that theire good

actes

uctes shoulde eyther with benefite, or with the emperours preises be shortely rewarded: whereunto soone after was added to profyte, eyther in some office, or in other yerely reuenues.

¶ After that he had reduced the citee to this honorable state, he than by the aduise of his moste discreate counsayloure, once or twise in the weke, vsed to solace out of the citee, with a great companye with hym of honourable personages. For he neuer shewed hym selfe openly as emperour, but with a great and honorable presence, aboue any other kynge of the worlde: all be it, than he expressed a meruayloise familiaritee to all men indifferently, that lysted to approche hym, without repulse to any man beyng in honest vesture, and not diseased with infectiue sickenesse.

¶ In this solásynge he hunted the harte, the wilde bore, and suche as he called Alces, brought for the nonce out of the great wooddes of Germany, which be in quantitee hygher and longer than any ore. He hunted also oftentymes the beare, but that was

onely whan he was in the partes where they were bred, saying: That forasmuch as the beare was of his nature a deuourer of cattell, he desyred not to haue of that kynde in those places, where cattell is nourished.

¶ In huntyng these beastes, he somtime on horsbacke proued his strēgth, somtimes shootyng, otherwhiles castyng at them iauelins, which serued for that purpose. Oftentymes he only beheld other yong gentilmen huntyng, which he deuided into sundrye companies, and appointed to them a number certaine of arrowes or iauelins, to the intent that one should not be more exercised, or take more solace in huntyng than an other.

¶ The lions, libardes, tygers, panthers, and other lyke straunge and furiouse beastes, he had in great numbres, whiche were kepte onely to the intent that at certaine tymes in the Amphitheatre, and other lyke places in the citee, ordeined to the purpose, the people mought take pleasure in beholdyng them, and also seyng some suche desperate persons (as would

aun-

aduenture theyr liues) fight with some of the sayde beastes, or one beaste to fight with an other. But neuer wouldē he lette any gentilman Romaine to doe any suche battayle, sayeng: That he esteemed none so little, that he wouldē put hym in daunger, for such a beast, whose bodye beyng deade, was nothyng profitable.

¶ He toke also pleasure to hunte the falowe dere, the Roe, and the hare with greihoundes, inforcing his horse (wherin he much delyted) to gene as manye tournes to the game that he hunted, as the greihoundes shoulde dooe. And in that pastyme hauyng to euery beast of venery but two dogges at the most, he contended with many other ponge gentilmen on horsebacke whiche were by hym selfe onely appointed, to shewe hym selfe moste delyuer and redie to encountre and checke the game at the moste aduauntage: wherein was a ryght pleasaunte and also profitable exercise, shewynge a bilege or representacio of a skyrmishe in warres, specially whan he hunted the harte, and the beastes named Al-

ces. For than there requyred to dee shewed muche strengthe and hardynesse, and in the pursuite labour and peinefulnesse. And in this solace he vsed muche prudence. For they whiche one daye hunted with hym, shoulde not hunte the nexte daye, but beholde other huntyng, and marke diligently the lacke of them that hunted in to muche haste or slowenesse, to the intent that they mought refrayne suche defaute. And they that dyd beste, were prayfed. And by him that was the prouost of huntyng, it was regestred in the emperours presence, howe many tymes euery man was commended, to the intent that as roumes of capitaynes and petite capitaines were voide in any of the emperours garisons, the whiche in the sayde huntynges were iudged moste actife, if other good maners were in them founde accordynge, shoulde be preferred to suche roumes after theyr merites. But alwaye this good emperour had a vygilant respecte to the fourme of theyr lyuynges, and aduaunced no man sodeinely, but with

longe deliberacion and good aduise-ment.

¶ Moreouer notwithstandynge his huntyng or other recreacion, he neuer wouldе lette any day passe, without either consultyng some thyng for the weale publike, or geuyng some true sentence in iudgement, or readynge some place in good authors, to aug-ment his wysedome, or writing some story or other thyng worthy remem-braunce: he was suche a nygarde of time, that he was meruailously gree-ued, yf he spente any daye in solace without doyng of any of of those thin-ges that I haue rehersed. Notwith-standyng that in the meane tyme, all the affaires of thempire were treated and ordred by men assured good and faithfull, whom he knew well wolde not be corrupted. And whan nede requyred, he hearde matters before it was daye, and prolonged the tyme vntyll it were late and within night. And yet not with standyng he neuer shewed countenaunce of werynesse ne to be in any part frowarde or an-gry: but hadde alway one maner of

vsage

vilage, and in all thynges semed mery and pleasaunt.

¶ Undoubtedly he was of an excellent prudence, as in whom no man coulde fynde any lacke, and of so ready a witte, that if any man merily wolde taste him with a preaty taunt, he shoulde shortely perceiue, that he understode hym.

¶ After the communt affayres, as well ciuile as mercial, he gaue the more part of his studie to the reading of Greeke authours, readynge the bokes of Plato of a publyke weale. And whan he would reade any latine bokes, he radde specially the bokes of Tullie, of a publyke weale, and also his offices. Sometyme he radde oratoures and poetes: amonge whom was Serenus Ammonicus, whom he knew and fauoured, and also Horace. He radde muche the lyfe of the greate Alexander, whom specially he folowed, notwithstandynge he abhorred his dronkennesse and cruelte. All be it, the one and the other is defended & excused by some good authors: whom oftentimes the emperour much beleued

Alexander magnus.

beleued.

¶ After his studie he applyed hym selfe to wrastlyng, renning, or throwyng of the ball moderately.

¶ After his exercise, hauyng his bodie anoynted with precious and holsome oynmentes (as it was at that tyme the vse) he entred into a baine or stew not hotte, where he taried sometyme by the space of one houre, not onely to washe hym, but also to exercise hym selfe in swymmyng. And whan he was come out of the baine, he woulde eate a good quantitee of milke, sopped with fine manchet, and a fewe egges, and thereto woulde he drynke methe: and takyng this for his breakefaste: sometyme he woulde dine also: And oftentymes he abstey- ned vntyll supper. Mulsum.

¶ Alwaye at after noone he applyed the tyme to signyng and readynge of letters and billes, they whiche were called remembrauncers, standynge about hym: And yf by the reason of sickenesse or age it were peynefull for theym to stande, he caused theym to sit downe, and made the secretaries,

or

or clerkes to reade the sayd letters or billes vnto theim: The emperour hauyng alway a penne, with his owne hande added to, that which was necessarie: but that did he by the aduise or sentence that seemed best or mosse conuinient. Whan he had perused all these thynges, all his frendes were let in together, and who that lyst mought freely and boldely speake than vnto hym: and he mercly and comfortablye gaue eare vnto theim. All be it, he wouldе heare no man alone, without his great maister, or Vlpian the lawier, and suche as were associate with hym in some speciall cause of iustice: but yet he neuer talked with any of theym, but that he caused Vlpian also to be present. In this forme this noble emperour passed his tyme, entrelacyng therewith other maner of solace.

¶ Howe the emperour Alexander, at the requeste of his mother Mammea, sent for the moste excellent clerke Origene: and of diuers notable sentences spokē by the same emperour, concerning the receiuing of Christen fayth.

Capitulo. xxv.

AT this tyme there was in the citee of Alexandria in Aegypte a man excellent in all maner of learnyng, and therewith wonderfull eloquent in the Grecke tounge, whose name was Adamantius Origenes, in so muche as whan he was but of the age of .xviii. yeeres, he was in all the liberall sciences, and in philosophie learned exactely aboue all mens estimacion, he was sonne of one Leonidas, who for the christen faith was beheaded. Eusebius.

¶ Also this Origene was christened and from his tender age moste perfitly brought vp in the rules of that religion, which he alway most exactly ob-

obserued, as wel in all kyndes of abstinence. as in example of humilitee, and contempt of thynges worldely.

He was for his great learnynge and seueritee of life, appointed by the byshop of christen men in Alexandria, to preache and expounde the bokes, whiche they called the Bible: by occasion wherof he drewe a great numbre of people dayely to the sayde Christen fayth: which although the emperour Alexander knewe, after he dyd perceiue, that they were exquisite folowers of vertue, and peace, he would not suffer that any of them should be apprehended or punished: but hadde them in great admiracion and reuerence.

¶ The fame of this great clerke Origene came to the eares of Mammea the emperours mother: who (as some men supposed) was all readie perswaded to imbrace that profession. Wherfore to be the more perfectly instructed therin, she most affectionately coueited the presence of the sayde Origene. And therfore the awaytynge opportunitee, came to themperour his sonne,

sonne, and desired him, that he wold sende for the saide Origene, whose famouse learnynge was only by report knowen vnto hym. To the whiche request he gaue ready graunted. And he hym selfe indited letters to be directed to Alexander, than beynge the bishop of Christen men in Alexandria, the tenour whereof hereafter ensueth.

¶ Alexander emperour Augustus. &c. to Alexander the chiefe bysshoppe of Christians in the great cite of Alexandria, well to doo. The fame of the vertue and wonderfull learnynge of Adamantius Origenes your great philosophier, sounded continually in our eares, whiche maketh vs desyrouse to beholde and here him, whose name contendeth in honourable renoume with our imperiall maiestee. We notwithstanding not enuying his glorie, but coueytyng to be parte takers of his inspired learnyng, and followers of his vertue, do requyre you, to lycence hym to come vnto vs to Rome at his leisure, without festinacion or trauayle. We haue wrytten to our prouost of Aegypt, that he prouide

The letters of Alexander the emperour.

ayde for hym all thyng expedient for his iourney toward vs. Fare ye well.

¶ After the bishop had receiued these letters, he muche reioysyng thereat, sent for Origene. But with great difficultee nought he perswade hym to take that iourney, allegynge by diuerse argumentes, that it shoulde be more necessarie, that he continued his preachynges & lessons where a great parte of the people were all redie informed in the Christian fayth, and dayly increased, and wared desirous of the interpretacion of diuine misteries, than to go to the citee of Rome, where abounded all vyce, pryde and tyrannie, and there to sowe precious seedes, as it were in the sande, or to geue orient perles to swyne.

¶ yet finally whan the bishop and other sage personages had credibly informed hym of the most excellent vertues of the emperour Alexander, and in what sort he had reformed the state of the citee of Rome, he condescended to goe thyther. Which beeyng intimate into the Prouost of Aegypte: he (accordynge to the Emperours commaunde-

maundement) prouided for him a ship with all thynges necessarie vnto his iourney. And because he beheldē him simply apparayled, he ordeyned for hym sundry garmentes in the moste honest sort that philosophiers than vsed: But Origene woulde not receiue any part therof, not so muche as hosen or shoes, but lyke as he alway accustomed to go frō his childhod (that is to say, in a single garment of cloth, and barefooted) so went he to Rome.

¶ And whan at his arriual there wer brought vnto hym a mule and a chariote, to ride on the which he best lyked: he aunswered: That he was muche lesse than his maister Christe, whiche rode but one day in his lyfe, & that was on a sely asse mare: Wherefore he would not ride, except he were sicke or decrepite: so that his legges nought not serue hym to go.

¶ The emperour and his mother hering of the comming of Origene, caused hym to be brought in theyr presence, where he accordyng to his duetie ryght humbly saluted the Emperour kneelyng, but the emperour with

moste gentill countenaunce imbraced hym, and inforced hym to stande on his feete. Semblablye the emperours mother deuoutely saluted hym, reioysyng muche of his presence.

¶ Whan the emperour had beholden his native grauitee, and most assured countinaunce, he in his herte iudged hym to be a reuerende personage. Than demaunded he of hym, what thyng he professed. He aunswered: Veritee. Veritee. The emperour asked of hym, what he ment therby. He sayde: It was the woorde of the lyuyng God, whiche was infallible. The emperour asked, whiche was the lyuynge god, and why he so called hym. Origene aunswered: That he dyd put that distinction for a difference from theim, whom men beyng longe drowned in errour, dyd call theyr goddes, whom they confesse to be once mortall, and to haue dyed: but the god, whom he preached, was euer lyuyng and neuer dyed, and is the lyfe of all thynges that be, lyke as he was the creatour of theim.

Lyuynge God.

¶ And whan the emperour had required

ꝙuyred hym to declare the vnitee of God the creatour, he deuoutely lyftyng vp his eyes, after a ſhorte meditacion, with an incomparable and moſt compendiouſe eloquence, foorthwith opened that miſterie in ſuche wiſe, that as well to the emperour and his mother, as to all other ſtandyng about them (of whom I Eucolpius moſte happelye was one) it ſeemed, that we were brought out of a longe ſlepe, and than dyd we ſee thynges as they were in deede, and that whiche before we eſteemed and honoured, were but vayne dreames and imaginacions. yet the emperour after a lyttle pauſe, ſayde vnto Origene, that he muche meruailed, why men of ſuche wonderfull knowlage, ſhoulde honour for God, a man that was crucified: beeynge but of a poore eſtate and condicion. O noble emperour (ſayde Origene) Conſyder what honour at this preſent tyme the wiſe Athenienſes yet doe to the name and image of Codrus, theyr laſt king of Athenes, for as muche as at the tyme that warre was made by the

two people called Peloponenses, and Dorienses, agaynst the Athenienses, annswere was made to them, whiche counsailed with Apollo at Delphos, that the Peloponē̄es & Dorienses (if they slewe not the kyng of Athenes) shoulde haue the victorie. Whereof Codrus hearyng, preferryng the safegarde of his people beefore his owne lyfe, toke on hym the garmentes of a slaue, and bearyng on his shoulder a burdeine of sticks, went to the hoste of his enemies, and there of a purpose quarelyng with some of theim, and in the preasse hurtyng one with his knyfe, he was by hym, whiche was hurte, striken through the body and slayne: by occasion whereof, after that it was perceiued and knowen of the enemies, they beyng confused, reysed theyr campe and departed. And for this cause the Athenienses, haue euer sens had the name of Codrus in reuerence, and as all men do thynke worthily and not without reason.

Now than to consider most excellent prince, howe muche more worthye, with what greatter reason and boun-

den

ben diuiele ought we and all men to honoure Chryste, beyng the sonne of god, and god, who not onely to preserue mankynde from daungerr of the deuyll, his auncient enemie, but also to delyuer man out of his darke and stynkynge dungeon of errour, beyng sent by god the father from the highest heauens, wyllyngely toke on hym the seruile garment of a mortall bodie, and hydyng his maiestee, lyued vnder the vysage of pouertee, and finally, not of his enemies immediately, but muche more against reason, of his owne chosen people the Iewes, vnto whom he hadde extended benefites innumerable, and after his temporall natiuitee were his naturall people and subiectes, he quarelynge with theim, by declaryng vnto theim their abuses, and pricking them with condygne rebukes, at the last he was not slayne with so easy a deathe as Codrus was, but in most cruell facion was scourged vntyll no place in his bodye was without wouudes: and than had a crowne of long and sharpe thornes set and prested on his heade,

and after longe tourmentes and despites, he was constreigned to beare an heaue crosse, whereon a terwarde bothe his handes and feete were nayled with longe and great nayles of Iron: and the crosse with his naked and blouddy body beynge lyfte vp on height, was lette fall with violence into a morteyse, that all his ioinctes were dissolued. And notwithstandynge all this tourment and ingratitude, he neuer grudged, but lyftynge vp his eyes vnto heauen, he prayed with a loude voyce, sayinge: Father forgeue theym, for they knowe not what they doo.

¶ This was the charitee moste incomparable of the sonne of God, employed, for the redempcion of mankynde, who by the transgression of Adam the first man that euer was created, was taken prisoner by the deuyl, that is to saye, kepte in the bondage of errour and sinne, from the actuall vision of goddes maiestee, vntyll he were in this wyse redemed, accordinge as it was ordeined at the begynnyng. ¶ At these woordes of Origene all they

they that were present were wonderfully astonyed, and therwith themperour with a sturdy countenaunce sayd vnto Origene.

¶ ye haue wonderfully sette forth a lamentable historie, but yet notwithstanding therin be thynges darke and ambiguouse, whiche doo requyre a more playne declaration. For what maketh you bolde to affirme, that Jesus, which in this wise was crucified, was the sonne of god and god, as ye haue called hym? Syr (sayde Origene) sufficient testimony, whiche of all creatures reasonable ought to be beleued, and for the most certaine proofe to be allowed. What testimony is that, sayd the emperour? Truely sayde Origene, it is in dyuerse thynges. Fyrst the prompse of god, by whom all this worlde was made. Also by his holy spirite speakynge by the mouthes of prophetes, as well Hebrewes as Greekes, and other whom ye call Vates, and Sibillas. Thyrdly by the natiuitee of Jesus of a pure virgin without carnall company of manne: the moste pure and

cleane fourme of his lyuynge without ſinne: his doctrine diuine and celeſtiall: his miracles moſte wonderfull and innumerable, all grounded on charitee onely without oſtentacion: his vndoubtfull and perfect reſurrecion the thyrde daye after he was put to death: his glorioule aſcencion vp vnto heauen in the preſence and ſighte of fiue hundred perſons, which were vertuoule and of good credence. Alſo the gift of the holy goſt, in ſpeking all maner of languages, and interpretynge ſcripture, not onely by him ſelfe, but alſo afterwarde by his Apoſtles and diſciples, and geuen to other by impoſicion of theyr handes. And all theſe thynges ordinarily folowed accordyng vnto the ſayd promyſes and prophecies. I omitte to ſpeake of the confeſſion of deuylles, whiche by Jeſus, and his Apoſtles in his name, were caſte out of people, whiche were obceſſed. The oracles and aunſweres of them, whom ye vn truely call goddes, dooe remayne in confirming this teſtimonie.

how many were at the aſcencion of Chriſt.

¶ Whan Origene had ſayde all this

be

he foorthwith beganne there, and dis-
closed the aunsweres of Apollo made
at Delphos, affirmyng Jesus to bee
God. Afterwarde he recyted and de-
clared the prophetes as well of the
Hebrues as of the Sybilles and o-
ther. Last the promyse of God vnto
the Patriarkes, by the whiche it ma-
nyfestly appeared, that Jesus was
Christ and God: and that by his tem-
porall natiuitee he was kynge of Is-
racll: and that the Jewes were his
naturall subiectes. Whiche decla-
racion of Origene was so euident and
plaine, and set foorth with such won
derfull eloquence, deuocion, and lear-
nynge, that it perswaded the Empe-
rour and diuers other, whiche than
were presente, whereof Jl Eucolpius
was one, to embrace the profession of
Christes faith and doctrine: for the
whiche Jl geue moste humble thankes
vnto God, by whose onely grace Jl
was called. And for that tyme the
emperour gaue licence to Origene to
retourne vnto Alexandria: For as
muche as he durste not attempte to
publysshe the Christen fayth by his
auctori-

auctozitee, the persecucion of chrysten men beynge but late ceased, and they beyng yet odious to the Senate and people. Natwithstandynge in his priuie closette he had the images of Chryste, of Abraham and of Moyses, and beyng by hym selfe he honoured one God, as I my selfe beynge often tymes secret with hym, dyd well perceiue. And at the laste he made requeste to the Senate, that there moughte be made a temple to Chryste: wherewith they all were sore greeued, and dyd obstinately denie it, sayinge, that they had counsayled with the goddes of whom they had auns were, that yf that were suffered, all men shoulde be christians, and all other temples shoulde be made desolate. Wherefore he ceassed his enterpryse. But alwaye he was studious in the bokes of chrysten men, and often tymes vsed theyr sentences. As whan any man went out of the high way, and wolde passe through an other mans ground, breakyng his inclosure, and rydinge ouer his corne or grasse, yf he perceiued it, he wolde cause hym to bee beaten

Lampridius.

beaten with staues or roddes in his presence, after the qualitee of his tres pace: or if he were a man of honour or worshyp, he wolde geue to hym great rebukes, and say vnto hym: Woldest thou haue that doen vnto thee, that thou doest to an other? And whan a man was punyshed, for any such tres pace, he woulde cause it to be openly proclaymed: That whiche to thy selfe thou wouldest not haue doen, do not in any wise vnto an other. Also whan cookes of the citee claimed a certaine place, which christen men hadde, and his pleasure was therin required, he wrate his in rescript. It were better that god were there honoured in any maner of facion, than that cookes shoulde haue therof possession.

¶ Eutolpius writeth, that on a tyme he sayde to him, and to Philippe his bondeman: I perceiue, ye doe wonder at the lernyng of Origene, whereby ye be induced to imbrace the christen profession. Truely the humilite and charite of the christen people whiche I haue hearde of, and do daply behold, doe muche more stere me to beleue, that theyr

theyr Christ is God, than the residue of all his persuasion.

¶ And on a tyme whan two Christen men contended proudly together, and they accused eche other of speakynge reprochefull wordes of the emperour, he called them before hym, and prohibited them to name them selues christen men, saying: your pryde and malice do declare, that ye bee not the followers of hym whom ye professe. Wherfore though ye find lacke in me, the which I wyll gladly amende, yee wyll I not suffer you against iustyce, to reproue by your actes hym, whose lyfe and doctrine ye al do affirme to be vncorrupted and without any lacke.

¶ Whiche wordes being once spread amonge the christen men in this citee of Rome, made theim all afterward more circumspecte, and in humilitee and charitee to be the more constant.

Howe

¶ Howe Mammea the emperours mother exhorted him to be maried, and what wise aunsweres he made, and fynally toke to wyfe the doughter of a noble and auncient senatour. Capitulo. xxvi.

¶ Whan themperour was come to the age of.xx.yeres his mother Mammea exhorted him to take to his wyfe some mayden of a noble and auncient house, to the intent that he mought haue generacion, whiche shoulde be for the sure tranquilitee of the citee and empire, and to the principall comforte of hym, the Senate, and people of Rome.

¶ After he had diligently heard his mother saye all that she woulde, he made to hir an aunswere in forme following: I dare well saye madame, that ye haue geuen to me this counsayle, of a sincere and natural loue, that ye beare towarde me your onely sonne. But for as much as it is the matter, whiche within my selfe I haue muche more debated, than I suppose ye haue done, although perchaunce

chaunce ye haue thought more on it, I wyll declare vnto you, how I find in my fantasie, that the takyng of a wife shoulde be to the publike weale and to my selfe more daungerouse than fruitefull, specially at this time. For where ye wyll me to take a mayden, if she shall be muche yonger than I am, perchaunce she shall not be so apt for generacion of chyldren, strong and lusty, as yf she were of more yeres. And I coueite not to deface the imperiall maiestee with chyldren weake and vnlusty. Also the studinesse of the Romaynes may not sustayne to be gouerned, but of theim, whiche as well in personage as wysedome bee conuenient and seemely.

If she shall be as olde or elder than I am, than shall I bryng my selfe to muche vnquietnesse and trouble of mynde. For ye knowe well, it is not yet passyng foure yeres agone, that the abhominable monster my kynsman Heliogabalus, lefte not onely the citee of Rome, but also all the countrey of Italie so polluted with detestable leccherie, that with muche

difficultee

difficultee mought one finde an house wherein had not ben committed some kynde of that byte, eyther voluntary, or els by inforcement.
Wherefore yf I shoulde marry one of the sayde citee or territory, although I founde her by fame and experience a mayden, yet shoulde not that discharge my mynde of suspicion: thynkyng alway, that she was rather so kepte by restreincte of libertee, than by hir owne chastitee: Consyderyng that she dyd here or see dayely suche wanton allectiues and prouocations to lechery, that the custome thereof dye assaute the mynde so continually that it were well nyghe impossible to escape vncorrupted, although the bodye by vigilant custodie abode vndefyled: And this suspicion shoulde wrappe my hart in suche melancholy, that I shoulde seldome be merye or pleasant with her, whom for mistrust I could not loue perfectly. And to take a wyfe of any other countrey, ye know well, it hath not ben the vse of Emperours, or other noble men of this citee, I suppose it hath been for

the warres, whiche hath and moughe eftsoones happen to be, betweene vs and these outwarde countreys. Wherfore if the women therof shoulde bee maryed to the emperour and other of the nobilitee, and that soone after shoulde happen hostilitee betweene them and those countreys, muche inconuenience mought come to the citee and publyke weale, by meanes of the women in fauourynge theyr parentes, the meanes I wyll not reherse, for offendyng of you and other ladies: and also sens you and all that are wyse, maye soone conjecte what I meane. Fynally I am determined, not to alter that custome, whiche is both auncient and honourable.

¶ Moreouer I can not be sure to haue generacion whan I am maryed, and than the onely cause therof is vterly frustrate. And to me, which shall be alway in studie and busynesse about the weale publyke, the wife remaynyth a tedious impediment and charge superfluous. Semblably shall I be vnto hir an vnpleasaunte cumbrehouse, fyndyng little idell time

to be in her company: and being fatigate with busineſſe about the weale publyke, I ſhall be leſſe diligent and pleaſaunt with her, than ſhe woulde haue me, whereof mought enſue not onely contencion betwene vs, but alſo matter of worſe occaſion.

¶ And where ye ſeme to affirme, that my generacion ſhulde be for the tranquillitee of this citee and empire, and for the comfort of me, the ſenate, and people: Truely whan I remembre, what doughters the moſte noble Auguſtus had, whom for their corrupted lyuing, and for the griefes, whiche he thereby ſuſteigned, he was wonte to call them his borches and boyles.

¶ Whan I thinke what ſoonnes the reuerend Valpatian, the wyſe & moſt vertuous prince Marcus Antoninus, the honorable Seuerus left, for theyr ſucceſſours in the empire of Rome, whiche were all ſlaine for theyr deteſtable lyuinges? O howe little care I for children, ye how gladde woulde I be alway to lacke them? that my benefites, whiche I entende to employ on the weale publike, by the fol-

lie or vice of my children be not consu-
med, men more hatyng my name, for
that I haue begotten and lefte vnto
theim in the stede of a gouernoure, a
tybaulde or tyranne for to succeede
me: than they wil praise me for mine
Children. owne charitee. O what sorowe
and peyne shall my sowle suffer (yf
there be any care amonge them, whi-
che be passed out of this worlde) whā
I shall beholde with immortall eyes,
my childe, whiche is of myne owne
substaunce to abandone that thyng,
whiche I loued: to imbrace that
whiche I hated: to be of the Senate
abhorred, of the people detested, and
of all forreine princes disdeigned, and
fynally of all honeste men persecuted
lyke a serpent or monster, like a wolfe
Sterilitee. or Tyger, infamed for lecherie, pur-
sued for tyrannie: O happy sterilitee
whereby lacketh annoyaunce. O hate-
full fertilitee, wherof commeth sicke-
nesse or pestilence.

¶ I am sure, that sterilitee can no
more hurt me, but onely take from me
the name of a father, or the dotyng
pleasure to se my lyttle soonne tyde

on a

on a cokhorse, or to here him chatter and speake lyke a wanton. And I am not sure, that fertilitee shall bryng to me any more quietnesse, than I haue all readye. For my childe being of suche inclinacion, as best shall content me, if death take hym from me, than shall I languishe in tourmentes incurable, considering that I can not well sustrigne the deathe of my seruauntes. If he lyue with me, and be eyther a foole, a rybauld, or tyranne, than shoulde I lyke Œdippus scratch out mine eyes, rather than I wold beholde suche a monster proceede of my bodie: yea rather slea him with myne owne handes, than to let suche one to succede me. Or if he escaped me, I wolde aske that onely rewarde of the senate and people, that they wold sacrifice hym on my tombe, whā I were buried. Therfore mother, I pray you ceasse from erhortyng me vnto marryage, vntyll I be therto better disposed, whiche shall be, whan in beholdyng one, whiche perchaunce I haue not yet seene, some affection, er I be ware, may in me, as it hath in other,

surmount bothe learnyng and wyse dome.

¶ With these wordes the wise lady, shewyng her selfe as she were content, departed vnto her lodgeyng.

¶ Not longe after, she bode the emperour vnto a supper and banckette: And against his commyng she had assembled a great number of the fairest maydens in Rome, attendynge vpon theyr mother, or on some other auncient and sadde gentilwomen, whom whan the emperour beheld, he sooyth with conjectred the intente of his mother. Notwithstandyng he moste gentilly countenanced them all, and shewed hym well content with theyr companie, although it were not correspondent vnto his fantasie. But after he had eaten, and dronke more wine than he was accustomed to doe, beyng chafed in body and spirite, in casting his eyes hither and thither, he at the last beheld an excellente fayre maiden, named Memmia, which was doughter of a noble man called Sulpicius. And after he had deuised with hir, and founde her to be wise, sobre, and

and of singular humilitee, he muche loued hir, and at the laste by the continuall prouocacion of his moother, and consente of his counsayle, he maried her: but she dyed shortely after, wherwith he toke no lyttle discomfort, saying oftentymes: So great a treasure as I haue loste, a man seldome fyndeth. Death were gētil, if he toke nothing but that that offendeth. ¶ Eucolpius wyl not be knowē, that he had any moe wiues: but Lampridius vseth the authoritee of one Dessippus, who sayeth, that Alexander had an other wyfe, who was doughter of one Martianus. But whān it was founde, that he woulde haue slayne the emperour by treason, he was putte to death, and his doughter separate from the emperour.

Herodianus affirmeth, that al that was dooen by the malyce of Mammea the emperours mother, without other cause, onely because she coulde not sustayne hir sonnes wyfe to bee called Augusta, & therefore she caused hir to be exiled into Affrica, and all the landes and goodes of hir father,

Mammea toke & conuerted vnto his owne profyte: whiche reporte I suppose vntrue, consyderyng that Mammea was so wyse and vertuouse a lady: and beeynge well instructed in Christes religion, knew well, how detestable vnto god is enuy and cruelte.

¶ Of the seuerite that Alexander vsed, as well towarde them that were proude, as to theym that were malapert and dyd not theyr duitie. Capitulo. xxvii.

ON a tyme he beeyng Censor or correcteur of maners with Julius Paulus & Callidius Rufus, and walkyng in the streetes of Rome with a few other disguised lyke communers: he happened to meete with a senatours sonne, hauyng with hym a great traine of ponge men: whom he, and they that were with him saluted, doyng to him reuerence: the ponge man beheld them disdeignefully, and with a proude countenaunce, without saying any thing: and they which were

were with hym dyd also the semblable. Wherefore the emperour at his retourne home to his palaice incontinent discharged the father of the said ponge man, out of the Senate, saypng, that he was not wourthy nor meete to bee of that reuerende companye, whereby the weale publyke ought to be gouerned, and the emperour hym selfe to be chiefely counsayled, sens he had so yl brought vp his soonne, that not onely he hym selfe lacked humanitee, and extended a more stately facion than pertayned to his degree, but also by his exemple caused them that were with hym, to embrace pryde, whiche is capitaine of vyces, and chiefe confounder of all publyke weales.

¶ Soone after he sent for the sayde younge gentilman and his companyons, and sharpely rebuked them, saypng, that pryde is the moste horrible monster, and of all men so hated, that it is not hadde in detestacion of good men onely, but also to theym whiche be proud, they that be lesse proud be in deede of all other most odioule. And

as

as pride steeth loue, prouoketh disdeigne, kendleth malice, confoundeth Iustice, and subuerteth weales publyke: so gentilnesse and affabilitee doo stere vp affection, augmente benevolence, incende charitee, supporte good equitee, and preserue most surely countreys and citees.

¶ And after that he had charged the to abandon and leaue the sayde vyce and other, and to embrace vertue and gentill maners, whereby they shoulde acquire more estimacion than by vygh countinaunce: and menacyng theim, that yf the sayde fault were eftsones spyed in them, he woulde not onely exclude them from hope of all dignitee, but also from the name of nobilitee, and put theim in the noumbre of the base communers: and so he lette them departe.

¶ This sharpe correction aualed many a proud hart, so that by custome of gentilnesse, pryde was so muche abhorred throughout the citee, that if any man, perchaunce by a natural habite or facion, or vnaduisedli, and not of a purpose, seemed to them that beheld

helde hym, to haue a proude countenaunce, he was eyther laughed at, or disdeignefully wondred at, so that he was constreigned, hadde he neuer so sturdie a courage, to be ashamed.

Wherof proceded a prouerbe: Slaues and bondmen haue onely this libertee to vse a proude countenaunce, because they be shameleſſe: and noble men be knowen alway by their gentilneſſe.

¶ It was not longe after that the emperour lokyng out at a windowe of his palaice, perceiued certayne gentilmen, exercising thē ſelues in wraſtlyng, rennyng, and leappng, to whom came certaine communers of the baſe people, and without any ſigne of reuerence, or aſkynge leaue, mingled them ſelues with the gentilmen, and malapertely enterpriſed to contende with them in thoſe recreacions, with arrogant boſtynges and woordes of preſumpcion. And whan the gentilmen, beeynge therwith offended, badde them bee contente with theyr degree, and reſorte where to paſſe the tyme with theyr companions and equalles: the ſayde communers, takyng

kyng that in despite with countinace braggyng and sturdie, proudly made aunswere: that euery of theym was better able to lyue, and had more abundaunce to vse liberalitee, and to haunt pleasures, than the best of the other. And if the Emperours garde had not come the sooner, the communers had fought with the gentilmen, and put theym in daunger, for they were moe in noumbre.

¶ This as it happened the emperour beholdyng, tooke therewith a vehement displeasure, beeyng therefore so angry, as erst he was neuer. Wherfore he caused the sayde communers to be kept in safegarde, and streightly commaunded, that nothyng that was doone shoulde be reherced, vntyl he had further declared his pleasure. And foorthwith he sent for the Prouoste and Tribunes, and requyred theim to sende their ministers to sommon all the communers of Rome beyng men, to bee the seconde daye folowynge in the Theatre of Pompei, where the emperour in his owne person woulde also be present, and declare

clare to theym thynges concernynge the moſt dangerous ſtate of the weale publyke.

¶ The emperours commaundement accordyngly was executed. And a haulte pale made at the ende of the Theatre, where the emperour ſhoulde ſitte in his maieſtee, that all the people might playnely beholde, and perfectly here hym.

¶ For the Theatre was a place made in the fourme of a bowe, that hath a great bente. And in all the rounde parte were many benches one behind an other, and ouer an other (for it was naroweſt benethe, and vpwarde grewe larger and larger.) And there ſate all the people. At the ſtraite ende, whiche was to the other parte as the ſtrynge to the bowe, were the ſeates of the Senatours, and behynde them of the gentilmen. Theatre.

¶ At the tyme appointed, the people beyng in the Theatre, as they were commaunded, the Emperour came, accompanyed onely with the Prouoſte and Tribunes, leauyng all his garde at the gate of the Theatre.

As

At his cõmyng all the people did rise, and with most ioyouse acclamacions, dyd salute him: but he contrary to his olde custome, with a displeasant countenaunce passed by them. Wherat thei were not a little abashed, and with hertes full of a louing dreade and constant silence, prepared theyr eares to here attentifely, what the Emperour wolde say: who after he had longe beholden the people, at the laste with a graue countenance full of maiestee, he spake vnto thē as hereafter foloweth

¶ The oracion of the emperour Alexander to the people of Rome. Capitulo. xxviii.

We wote not how to begynne to speake vnto you, for we know not by what name we shall call you. For yf ye were Senatours, we woulde call you fathers: if ye were gentilmen, we wold call you frendes, if ye were as ye shoulde be, good communers, we wolde call you good people of Rome, as we were wont to do. But sens election hath not made you

senatours, nor nature gentilmen, nor your merites good communers, we be in no lyttle doubte what we shall call you. For yf we shoulde call you Romaines, we feare, leaste Romulus, of whom proceded that name (if he be deified, as ye dooe suppose) beeyng therwith offended, wyll be auenged as well on vs as on you, for abusyng his glorioust name on suche people, whiche goeth aboute to dissolue this noble empire, destroy this citee, whiche he fyrst began with his most excellent prowesse and wysdome: and that worse is (if any thyng may be worse) extinct vtterly the moste honourable and glorioust fame of this citee and people thereof, whiche hath pearced the clowdes, flowen ouer the hyghe mountaines, and passed the perillous seas and large ryuers, ronne through the great desertes and wyldernesses, and touched the furthermost boundes of the worlde. We wyll therefore omitte to call you by any name, vntyll we can fynde one meete and according vnto your merites.

¶ Perchaunce at our comming, ye be-

holdyng

holdyng our countenaunce towarde you more straunger than it hath byn, thought that we were moued with some priuate displeasure, for some thynge touchynge our persone: or that we were altered from our late temperaunce, vnto a tirannie, conceiuing suspicion of our nature, by the remembraunce of that monster our late predecessour, forasmuche as we bothe came of one lynage, whiche I denie not. Truely, if this were your fantasie, we wyll soone acquite our selfe therof, and sette all your myndes at a more libertee.

¶ We wyll say this muche vnto you, as touchyng our persone and familie, no man with woordes hath offended vs, no mā hath taken ought from vs, no man (that we knowe) hath gone about to betray vs: nor there is any other thynge priuately dooen to our incommoditee, that hath displeased vs. And as for our accustomed maners, which did content you, we haue not, nor intende not to alter them. Tirranny, as we haue euer had it in extreme detestacion, so dooe we nowe

most abhorre it. The corrupte nature of our predecessour had neuer place in vs. One gardeine at one tyme bringeth forth both poison and holsome medicine. We see one woman, whiche by one man hath many chyldren, of theym some be fayre and personable, some yll fauoured and croked, some be wyse and apt vnto doctrine, other be fooles and dull witted, one is courag'ous and hardy, an other is a dastarde and cowarde, this chylde is gentill and inclined to vertue, the other is fierce and wrapped in vyces. This is not a rare thyng, but in dayly experience. If this diuersitee happeneth to be in one gardeine, and in the generation of one father and also one mother: than maye we well escape the cause of your suspicion: We and Heliogabalus haue dyuers father and dyuers mothers, and they as dyuers in theyr condicions, as ye your selues can beare witnesse, whiche haue knowen and seene proued the chaste lyuing, sanctimonie and prudence of our reuerend mother, and in what honestie and vertuous

discipline, she hath nourysshed vs, and brought vs vp, vnto the tyme that by god we were called vnto this dignitie This ought to be enough, as well to persuade you, that neither any thyng concernyng our selfe hath moued vs to displeasure towarde you, as also to exclude out of your myndes all suspicion of tyranny.

¶ Now shall ye knowe the very cause why we be discontented with you. For although we sayde at the beginnyng, that ye went about to dissolue this empire, destroy this citee, and extincte the glorious fame therof, whiche in dede is the cause of our displeasure and heuinesse, yet in those generall wordes, ye doue not perceiue (I suppose) what we meane therby. Wherefore take good heede, and ye shall here it declared more specially.

Romulus. ¶ After Romulus had buylded this citee, he by his diuine reason considered, and (as I doubt not) in the tyme of the buildynge experience declared, that in a confuse multitude of people, they beyng of diuerse wyttes and condicions, yf order lacked, there

mought not be a perpetuall concorde, but by continuall variaunce and discorde) the people of necessitee shoulde be compelled eyther to abandone the citee, and deuidyng theym selues, to seke for sundry places to dwell in: or abidyng there in continuall sedicion, shoulde shortely and easely be subdued or destroyed by theyr neyghbours dwellyng about theym. Wherfore he ssuyng of a gentill and noble house, excellyng the residue of the people in noble courage and fineness of witte, fyrste deuysed and stablyshed this order, that the companie, which he had assembled as well of theym, whiche he had brought vnto him as of those, whiche he out of dyuers partes had allured with hym, shoulde generally be called Romaynes for euer: And that of theym shoulde be three states or degrees, euery one of theym necessarie for the weale publike of his noble citee, in theyr sundrie administracions, duities and exercises.

¶ To the fyrste state he chase out of the whole congregacion one hundred of men auncient in yeres, whiche in

moderacion of lyuyng, ſobrieneſſe of maners and ſharpeneſſe of witte were of the principall perſonages of all that noumbre. Of theym he ordeyned and ſtabliſhed a counſayle, wherby the affayres of the citee, and appendaunces therof, ſhoulde be ruled and miniſtred. And theſe counſailours for theyr age ſhoulde be called Senatours, (for *Senes* in latine are olde men) not withſtandyng being ſaluted or ſpoken to, they ſhoulde be named fathers. Also the college or company of theym was incorporate by the name of the Senate.

Senatours.

¶ Moreouer of this colledge ſhoulde be elected the great iudges and officers in the weale publyke, to whom ſhoulde be committed the determinacion of iuſtice, the execucion of ceremonies and ſolemne ſacrifices, and other auctho̲rytees, whiche doe belong vnto gouernaunce. Wherefore he woulde that in this ſtate there ſhould be a mateſtee: whiche of all other men ſhoulde be had in a ſingular honour and reuerence.

¶ Semblablie lyke as this ſtate was ordey-

ordeyned for counsayle and gouer-
nance, so elected he out of the residue,
whiche were lustie in yeres, valiaunt
and hardie, a greatter numbre, whom
because in warres they shoulde be on
horsebacke, he called theym *Equites*, *Equites.*
and the other he called *Equestris*, to *Equestris.*
theim should chiefely perteyne the de-
fence of the citee against the inuasion
of enemies, with other small admi-
nistracions, about the necessarie pro-
uisions and ornamentes of this no-
ble citee.

¶ And this state also would he haue
honoured of the rest of the people.
And to the intent that they shoulde
be knowen from other men, he assi-
gned them to weare a ryng, and to
beare in theyr handes iauelins, wher *Quirites.*
of afterwarde they were called *Qui-*
rites, whiche in the olde tonge of this
countrey signifyed speare men. Of
this state shoulde be elected the Se-
natours, whan the iuste noumbre of
the Senate decayed.

¶ The thyrde state was of the base
people or communers: to whom seue-
rally shoulde not be committed any *Communes.*

 anythe-

auctholitee, but shoulde applie theyr occupations, and be readie to execute the statutes and ordinances made by the Senate: Also be obedient to the great officers, in that whiche pertey=ned vnto the weale publyke: Moreouer when warres required, that they shoulde goe foorth, than to be obedi=ent and diligent at the commaundee=ment of their capitaynes and leaders. ¶ This order beyng stablished by Ro=mulus, as longe as in euery degree it was duely obserued, howe meruay=lously did this citee prosper, ye how wonderfully dyd a fewe Romaines in regarde, not onely defende this lyttle territorie, agaynst the great noumbre and puissaunce of dyuers and sundry people, confederred agaynst theim, but also beate thē backe vnto theyr owne houses, entred into theyr cittees, de=spoiled theim of theyr substaunce, and also compelled them not onely to de=syre perpetuall peace, but moreouer at the laste to become theyr subiectes and tributaries? And whan this good ordre began to be broken, your state aspiring to gouernance and rule,

where ye were ordeyned to obey onely: what yere can ye fynde clere from sedicion and discorde amonge you? Who can noumbre the Romains, whiche haue ben slayne in the ciuile warres and commocions? Who coulde without teares reherse the dolorouse astate of this citee in the tyme of Cinna & Marius, whom for disdeine that ye had vnto the nobilitee, ye dyd elenate vnto the highest dignitees? By this your disorder came vnto the citee sundry calamitees. ye chase Calligula to be your emperour: and where mought there be founde a more horrible tyranne? in the whiche name he so muche delyted, that lokynge in a glasse, he wold most diligently forme his vysage vnto the most terrible facion? Also in recompence of your kindnesse he wysshed, that all the people of Rome had but one necke, that he mought strike it of at one stroke. Caligula.

¶ I am ashamed to reherse my predecessour and kinseman Heliogabalus, the detestable vessell of abhominacion. But ye ought to be more ashamed, that ye settyng aparte so greate Heliogabalus.

a numbre of honourable personages, as were than in the senate, for theyr experience, wysedome, and prowesse, woorthye euery of theym to be emperours, chase the sayde Heliogabalus, a straunger borne, a boye in yeeres, a foole in regarde of theyr wisdome, to be your soueraigne lord: who brought you to the most vile subiection that any people were in the worlde? For is there any thynge in mankynd so vile, as to be vnder the condicion of brute beastes? What beast can ye name, that wyll suffer in his presence an other beast to occupie in the act of generation his, whom he hath chosen for his meke and companion? but to his power wyll resiste and fight with hym. Heliogabalus helde you in suche captiuitee, that partely to auoyde his displeasure, partly to flatter him, and gette somewhat of hym, ye not onely suffred him to abuse your wyues and your children, suche as beste lyked hym, but also increased your bordell houses, and with open eyes let your wyues and your children dayely and nyghtly to haunte

theim

theim. And openly in the streetes (whiche I abhorre to reherse) to apprehende men, and prouoke theym to lecherie.

¶ I omitte for the shortnesse of time, many suche other elections, whiche haue proceded of your grosse and presumptuouse wittes, after that ye had transgressed the ordre, wherin Romulus lefte you, and exceded the termes of your office or duetie: Whiche at the last was perceiued by you (as I dyd suppose, whan ye beyng tediouse of that beastely lycence, whiche that beaste Heliogabalus gaue freely vnto you, hadde slayne hym and toke me to be your emperour, although with all my power I refused that bourdeine, vntyll I was by the Senate and you constreigned to take it. And than desyred you me to reduce the state of this citee vnto the fyrste order. Whereabout I haue trauayled these eyght yeres, with not a litel peyne, studie and laboures: begynnyng at myne owne householde, to the entent that as well by the ensample of my seruauntes and officers,

ye and other beynge vnder my rule, mought the sooner refourme your selues, as also that ye mought the better perceiue, and be lesse offended with my seuerite.

¶ And because I dyd see muche il exemple procede of the senate: also that ye were oppressed with the pride and corrupcion of iudges and officers, I vsing much diligence, weded them out, and discharged them of theyr auctorites: ne they went not vnpunished accordyng vnto theyr merites.

¶ I purged also the state of gentilmen of ribaulders and riottours, and aduauncyng therunto other, I caused theym to be dayely exercised in actes of prowesse, or elles to here lessons in suche maner of doctrine, as thereby they mought acquire more wisedome, to be officers or counsaylours in the weale publike. Onely the state of the people I dyd not vysyte, sauing in punishment of theues: for as muche as I iudged, that ye had least libertee to do any great cupll, beyng (as I sayd) oppressed with tyrannie. And that those vices, which were amonge you,

lyke

lyke as they were taken by the exemple of your superiours, so trusted I, that by theyr punishement, the layde ill maners shoulde be forsaken: and by the vertuouse exemple of suche honest men, as I haue put in theyr places, good maners shoulde be as gladdely embraced.

¶ But nowe I perceiue all hath happned contrary to mine expectacion. For the sparynge of you, and the correction of my seruauntes, with the sharpe reformacion of the Senate and gentilmen, hath brought you vnto suche a presumpcion and arrogancie, that ye contend to be equall with gentilmen, vsyng no fourme of reuerence vnto them, eyther that ye thinke, that I feare more your puissaunce, than I fauour theyr honestie: or elles that your ryches doth make you so proud, whiche ye abusyng in excessiue vsuries, ye therwith deuoure the patrimonies of many younge gentilmen, and haue made theym beggers: or by the seueritee of the auncient lawes of this citee, taken theim in bondage, and slayne theym in yrons. And by

suche colourable rauyne, ye haue bought great possessions in Grecia, Sicile, and Spayne, whereby ye accumulate treasures and pleasures lyke to great princes.

¶ If ye thynke me to be afearde of your puissaunce, your opinion is false. For aboue all thynges I moste desyre to die for the defence of the weale publike of this noble citee: and in dede rather wyll I dye, than see the calamitees, which nedes must ensue therbnto, if order be not kepte, as I before haue declared.

¶ At that worde all the people cried with one voyce, pourynge out teares from theyr eyes, Liue moste noble and gracious emperour: he that woulde your death, let hym die, lette him be rent into pieces: our puissaunce shall not annoye you, but vnto death shall defende you: ye haue restored vs vnto lyfe that were deade: vnto liberte, that were in thraldome: vnto honour, that were dishonoured. Lyue vertuous emperour, and what lacke ye fynde in vs, reforme it, and we shall obeye you: and he that wil resist or re-

or rebell, let hym be slayne and drawen with a hoke thorough the citee, and throwen into Tyber. ye be in gouernance our father, whom we chefely wyl honour: In age ye be our moste derest son, whom more then our owne liues we doo fauour. And than eftsoones they cryed: Lyue moste gentil and righteouse emperour.

¶ Whereat the emperour relented, and with muche peine reteyned the teares of his eyes: And after he had settled his spirites and countinance, he spake than vnto theym in this wyse: I am well contente that ye haue declared, that there is yet in you some portion of vertue, whiche geueth me hope, that neyther the noble renoume of this citee begunne by Romulus, and augmented by other honourable gouernours: Nor my labours in restoryng therof, whan it was decayed, and lykely to perisshe, shall fall into ruine. But if ye be constant in this affection, I trust that ryght shortely the publyke weale shall flourisshe, and that this sayde citee and people shall bee in as muche estimacion as

cion as euer it was in the tyme of any of our progenitours. And now haue I found againe your old name, wherby I will call you: ye chyldren and successours of the vertuous Romaines, I say you most victorious people, branches of Romulus, subduers of realmes, samplers of vertue and prowese to all the worlde, mittigate your couetous appetites, expell from you auarice, auale your hyghe courages, I meane in exceding the boundes of your popular state, and comparing your selfes with your superiours, be charitable and mercifull to your owne countrey men, where theyr necessitee maye bee relieued with your abundaunce. Be you ashamed, that people of other countreys, people barbarous and rude, should condempne you of cruelte, for destroying your gentilmen, the chiefe ornamente and defence of this noble citee: that they should reproche you of rudenesse and pride, in omitting to doe reuerence to theym, whiche doe in order excel you. Remembre, that lyke as if the state of senatours doe decaye, of the gentil-

gentilmen are elected into the senate suche as be vertuous: so ye that shall be founde equall to theim in vertue, (for your substaunce onely can not make you gentyll) shall be aduaunced to the state of gentilmen accordyng to reason. Than consider, yf ye woulde not than also requyre to be preferred in reuerence.

¶ Nothynge shall more cause a man wyllyngly to dooe his duitie, than to thinke what he would require of him that is inferiour vnto hym. And it hath been sayde of wyse men, that he whiche would be a ruler, should fyrst learne to be a good subiect. For truely a proude and couetouse subiecte, shall neuer be a gentill and temperate gouernour.

¶ Now haue I no more to say to you but apply your selues with good willes to restore this citee to the auncient and most laudable order, as I shall endeuour my selfe by exemple and diligence, to bryngе it effectoones vnto his perfection.

¶ Thus ended the emperours oracion, and therwith he arose and departed

ted, al the people pursuing hym with this acclamacion: The goddes immortall keepe and defende you moste noble emperour. ye are the crowne of our glorie, of our wealth and prosperitee: hated be he of goddes and of men that woulde you displeasure. Doe what best lyketh you, the gods immortall defende you.

¶ The severitee that the emperour Alexander vsed in chastising as wel the pryde of the people, as also his men of warre or souldyours.

Capitulo. xxix.

After that themperour was returned home to his palaice, he decreed, that the sayd communers shoulde be deprived of theyr libertee and name of Romaines, and to be delyuered as bondemen vnto the saide gentilmen, with whom they pre sumptuoukely had contended, and so to remayne in that state, excepte they redeeme theym selues by makyng the sayde gentilmen, in possessions and moueables, better than they them selues were, whan they contended (for in

deeds

brede the sayde communers were be-ne riche men, (as well in substaunce mouable, as yeerely reuenues) that doen, they should be eftsones restored vnto theyr libertee, addyng thereto, that it shoulde not be leefull vnto the sayde gentilmen, to infranchyse them in any other condicion. Finally the sayde cõmuners abhorring seruitude, incontinent redeemed theyr heades, accordyng to the emperours decrees. Whiche exemple was founde afterwarde so profitable to the weale publike, in reteining the auncient order, and restreignyng sedicion, which before that tyme now and than hapned, that it was thought of all men, that there was neuer decree or lawe made that was more beneficiall vnto the citee. And the emperour was therfore not onely feared, but also more honoured and loued of all the people, which were good citesins and chiefly fauoured the weale of theyr countrey. ¶ Like seueritee he vsed to all other states, as partely it is before rehersed, and partely I wyll now briefely declare. He so heard the complaints Lampridius.

of souldiours against their capitaynes, that if he found any capitaine in fault, he punished hym accordynge to the qualitee of the acte, without purpose to pardone hym.

Lampridius. ¶ Lyke austeritee he vsed to theim that serued hym in warres. For on a tyme whan he heard that one of thē had doen wronge to a poore olde woman, he discharged hym of his retenue, and gaue hym to the woman to be her bondman, that he beyng a carpenter, shulde with his crafte and labours relieue her. And whan the residue of the souldiers were therwith greeued, he persuaded them to be therwith contented, and did put them in feare to grudge at it. Oftentymes he discharged whole legions, neuer fearyng his armie, for as muche as neuer man coulde reproue hym, that in his lyfe any capitaine or petite capitaine toke or deteined any thynge of theyr souldiours wages. Whan he came to the citee of Antioche, his men of warre fell to wantonnelle, haunteyng womens baines, and other riotous pastimes; which beyng brought

to his

to his care, he caused theim all to be apprehended and put in prison, whiche beeyng knowen to theim, whiche were of the felowshippe of those that were taken, they beganne to make a commocion: Than themperour went to the place of iudgement, and caused the prisoners to bee brought before him, the residue of men of warre stan dyng all armed about hym. And than beganne he in this wyse: Companions in armes (so that the actes of your felowes dooe discontente you) The discipline lefte to vs by our auncetours, mainteineth and kepeth the weale publike, the whiche if it be let to decaye, we shall lose as well the name of Romaines, as also the empire. We may not suffre thynges to be dooen, which late were supposed by that vncleane beast Heliogabalus. The Romaine souldyours your felowes, and my companions in warre, they haunt brothelles, tauernes, and baines in the grieke facion, and therto one prouoketh an other: shall I suffre this any lenger, and not strike of theyr heades? Therwith arose a

great rumour and noise in the people. Than sayde he againe: ye that be here, crie out whan it is necessarie in battaile against your enemies, not against your emperour and soueraigne lord. I dare say your captains taught you to vse those cries against the Polones, Germaines, and Persians, not agaynst hym that hath geuen to you meate, liuerie, and wages. Cease therfore of your terrible cryes, whiche onely be necessarie in warre and battaple, least that I with one mouthe and one voyce discharge you Romaines: and yet I doubte whether I maye so call you. For ye be not woorthy to be of the people of Rome, if ye know not the lawe of the Romaines. And whan they cryed lowder, and also menaced hym with theyr weapons, he eftsones sayde to theim: Putte downe your handes, whiche if ye be valiaunt, ye shoulde aduaunce against your enuemies: for these thynges dooe make me nothyng afearde. And yf ye slea any man, the publike weale, the Senate, and people wyll not fayle for to reuenge

ys. But whan they brauled and murmured neuer the later, he cried to thē with an high voice, saying: Get you hens Romains, & put of your harneis.

¶ A wonderfu lexemple, they al putting of theyr harneise and souldiours cotes, departed euery man to his lodgeynge.

¶ There was it perceiued, howe muche his seueritee profyted. Than the emperours gard brought all the standerdes into the campe, and the people theim selfes brought all theyr armure to the emperours palaice.

And the legion, which he had discharged, after that he was sued vnto.xxx. dayes before he went towardes Persia, he eftesones restored into his place, and by theyr prowesse most specially, he afterwarde vanquished his ennemies. Notwithstandyng er he departed, he commaunded all the capitaines of the sayde legion to be beheaded, because that throughe theyr negligence, the souldyours passed theyr tyme ryottouselye in a place of excellente pleasure, called Daphnia, and had made the sedicion, they

wynkyng at it.

¶ Howe the emperour Alexander reformed the vsurie, whereof he spake afore in his oracio made to the people. Cap. xxx.

SOone after that Alexander had chastised the pryde of the common people of Rome, as before is reherced, he hym selfe came into the Senate, and there declared the sundrie inconueniences, which had happned, as well to the citee, as vnto the countreys thereunto subiecte, by the detestable practise of vsurie, which vtterly repugneth against all humanitee, charitee, and naturall beneuolence, that ought to be amonge people, that doo liue in a mutuall concorde: but moste specially amonge theim, whiche liue vnder one obedience, vnder one law or pollicie. The inconueniences, which happened, he shewed to be these. Fyrst where the gentilmen, and the more part of men of warre, were from theyr cradelles brought vp in idelnesse, being not instructed

structed in any occupation or science, saulfe onely in feates pertaignyng to warre. In the tyme of peace and tranquillitee, or whan the warres be not so greate, that they requyre the whole puissaunce of Rome, than they whiche be not sent foorth to battaile, some do passe theyr tyme in daliaunce and banketynge with wanton women, or at dyce, and other chargious solasyng, or in both with the one and the other, shortely consumpng theyr substaunce: Some dooe delyte in other excessiue pleasures, as to haue great and beautifull houses, large and ample orchardes, and walkes inclosed with high and stronge walles, great pondes and meeres, conueighyng therunto by a longe distaunce the salt water throughe rockes and mountaines, and to haue in theim diuers straunge kyndes of fysshes. In the which enterpryses, they also haue not onely consumed theyr goodes and patrimonie, but also the woorke aboue their expectacion, ferre exceding their power, they haue ben constreigned to borow great summes of money.

¶ Other there haue been, whiche of an ambicious courage, haue vsed prodigall expenses, as well in continuall feasles and banketres, as in distribucions of great summes of money amonge the people, and geuyng great rewardes to corrupte Senatours and other great officers, to atteyne before theyr tyme, or not beyng worthy, to some hygh place or dignitee: wherby they beyng broughte into powertee, haue been also constreigned to seeke helpe of other, to maintayne theyr folly. All these persones howe vnprofitable they be vnto the weale publike, reporte me vnto you, specially yf ye consyder also, that whan they haue borowed so much, and the summes borowed beeynge so increased by vsure, that they be not onely in desperacion to borowe any more of theyr creditours, but also in the state to be greeuously punished according to the lawes: than defyre they some alteracion in the weale publike, than fisshe they out the ambicious courages of theim, which are in auctoritee, and betweene whom of the noble men is

enui,

ennie, disdeigne or priuate displeasure, than seeke they matter of sedicion within the citee, which not being wisely repressed, hath at his backe diuision of partes, ciuile commocions, oftentymes bartayle and destruction of people. Reade the hystories of Rome, and see how often they called for newe tables, that is to say, that the instrumentes & obligations made for debt, shuld be cancelled, and those debtes acquyted: and vntyll it was dooen, the commocion ceased not.

¶ Now se ye, that the chiefe cause of this inconuenience, was the sayd pestilent practise of vsurie, whiche as the occupiers did see the wantonnesse and prodigalitee of the nobilitee, gentilmen, and other increase, so did they augment it, more estemyng theyr propre lucre than the weale publike, charitee, beneuolence, or naturall humanitee. Wherefore in my iudgement suche vsurers amonge the Romaines ought not to be noumbred: but if they be not wyllyngly reformed, they shuld be taken and vsed as pernicious enemies vnto vs all.

¶ Here al the Senate, except a few, with one voice commẽded the zelous entent of the emperour, and offered theyr consentes in makynge suche a law, as should seeme to the emperour and theim expedient, for the redresse of so great an enormitee. Than one Catelus, a noble Senatour, & a man of great vertue, sayde in this wyse: Myne opinion is (noble emperour and reuerende fathers) that no kynd of vsurie shall be here practised within this citee, but fyrst I would that serche be made diligently, howe many Romaines, and who they be, whiche are entred into bondes, for the payment of vsurie: And likewise who be the creditours. And the principall debte beyng knowen, the creditours to be compelled by an Edict of your maiestee, to holde them content with repayment of the summe or value of the thyng that they lende. And than by an ordinance of this counsayle, the sayd principal debtes to be payed out of the treasure of the citee, the debtours bryngynge in pawne or suretie to repay it within fiue yeres vnto the treasouries.

The sentence of Catelus.

Also

¶ Also that no man shall lend money or any thyng els, whiche the debtour shall be constreigned to chaunge into money to serue his commoditee, vpon any condicõ, bargaine, or promise to haue lucre by the sayd lone. And yf that he doo, all his mouables to be immediately forfayted to the commõ treasourie. Usurie.

¶ Moreouer, if any Romaine shall happen to be in necessitee, by any misfortune or casualtee, or by necessarie charges, whiche he could not escape, that he shoulde come to the prouoste of the citee and treasourers, bringing with hym one Senatour, and two of the people, men not suspected of infamie, whiche shall sweare by the gods preseruatours of the citee of Rome, that they knowe, that the necessitee dooeth not procede of the sayd ill occasions: That dooen, he shall laye in his sufficient pawne, or bringe in twoo hable persons to vndertake for the repayment of the money, whiche he wyll borow: the treasourers shall deliuer so much to him as to the prouoste and them shall seeme to be sufficient

cient for his necessitee.

¶ And if any other man wyl benevolently lende theim that, whiche they wyll despyse, without practise of vsurie, if the borower hath consumed his gooddes in such folly as before is declared: that than he shall not be charged with the repayment of that that he borowed, but that the creditour be clerely excluded from thensefoorthe, to haue for his sayde lone any maner of remedie. But if constreinct or misfortune dooe cause the necessitee, and any man lende to an other for a benevolente charitee, without any colour of vsurie: than if the debtour neglect the repayment therof, and wyllyngly let the daye passe whan it ought to be payed: than he without mercye to susteigne the rygour of the common lawes of the citee.

¶ And so this lawe beynge well executed and neuer omitted, we shal neyther haue vsurour dwell in this citee, nor gentilmen landlesse, nor persons sedicious, whiche shall be able to annoy the vniuersall weale publyke.

¶ Now ye haue heard mine opinion,

wherto

wherto ye maye adde or make some thyng lesse, as it shall seeme beste to your excellent wisedomes.

¶ Than the emperour desyred Gordian, an auncient senatour, who is named before, to shew his opinion, and he risen out of his place, paulynge a lyttle, sayde in this wyse.

The sentence of Gordian. Counsayle in makyng of lawes.

¶ I learned, whan I was ponge, noble emperour and fathers, that he which shall geue counsaile, specially to the making of lawes, ought to consider. iiii. thynges. That his counsayle be honest, that it be necessarie, profytable and possible. Three of them haue been remembred by Catelius Seuerus, the fourth it semeth that he had forgotten. I dooe well agree, that the thynge that he woulde haue dooen is charitable: and therfore is honest, also that it is necessary to represse the riottouse and prodigall lyuing of gentilmen: it is profitable vnto the weale publike, to haue all occasions of sedicion, and seedes of warre ciuile to be extirpate. And truly no better deuise may be found, then Catelius, accordyng to his great learnyng

nyng and wisedome, hath right well declared. But let vs see, if the relefe appointed by Catelius, for thē whom he nameth worthie to haue it, shall be alway certayne and possible. And if not, than must we in steede therof, finde some other prouision more certaine, though it be not so easie, that good men in theyr vnwyllyng necessitee be not disapointed.

¶ Is it possible trow ye, that the common treasure shall be alwaye abundaunt, that is to say, able to furnisshe all thynges necessarie for the weale publike, and in the ouerplus to be also sufficient to relieue the sayde priuate necessitees? Consyder the greatnesse of this noble empire, the great noumbre of realmes, countreys, and citees, whom the prowesse of our noble auncetours hath by force constreigned to be subiecte vnto vs, and by force we kepe and retayne theym. Thynke you, that they all wyll euer remayne in peace and tranquillitee? Doue you not knowe, that al liuyng thinges desyre libertee, and mankind most specially? Remembre you not,

that

that will constreigned, seketh euer opportunitee to slyppe of his colar? Forgette you, that almost yesterday the Moores began to rebell, and had shaken of their yoke, had they not ben quickly represſed by Furius Celsus? Also the great countrey of Illiria, from whence we haue our chiefe men of warre, made late a commocion, which had ben no small daunger and losse to this empire: had they not ben valiauntly and wysely pacified and brought in good order, by the noble capitaine Marius Macrinus, kinsmā vnto your maiestee most noble emperour. Armenia was in perill to bee lost, if it had not been well defended bi the prowesse of Junius Palinatus. And it is doubted of some, whether, the Germains wyl continue the leage that they made with vs. It is priuily muttered among the people, that Artarerres kynge of Persia, dooeth gather muche people and treasure, intending not onely to subdue all Armenia, but also the whole countrey of Asia, vnto the sea of Propōtis, which deuideth Asia frō Europa, claimyng

it in

it in the auncient right of the kinges of Persia. What other people wyll doo, we be vncertaine: As vncertaine be we, what treasure wyl be sufficient to furnysche all thynges necessarie against those perilles. ye we be not so sure of our prouinces and auncient dominions, from whens we haue our yerely reuennes, pensions, and tributes: but yf other rebell, and preuaile against vs, (whiche the goddes forbedde) puissaunce faylyng vs, & good fortune forsakyng vs, it is to be supposed, that they wyll rather paye nothynge than ought, be also gouerned rather by theyr owne countrey men, than by vs that be straungers.

¶ Than what haue we lefte vs to kepe this noble citee, to defende vs, our childzen, our wiues, the temples, and aulters of goddes immortall, if our common treasure be not riche and abundaunt, wherwith we may gette succours in some place, prouide vitailes sufficient, and stroungely fortifie our munitions and fortresses? Also we be not sure, where warre shall assaile vs, eyther by lande or by sea, if it hap-

it happen to be by the land, yet know we not, whether it shall be in diuers countreys or one: if in sundry countreys, than muste we haue dyuers armies, and dyuers prouisions, accordyng as the state of the countreys requireth, some beyng fermently hotte, some excedyng in colde, the one ful of mountaynes vnapt for cariage, the other thicke of woodes: this lackynge freshe water, that drowned in fennes. If it be on the water, then be the charges greatter and muche more vncertayne, shyppes with theyr takeling and ordinaunce aboue all other thinges beynge most costely, and oftentimes ere theyr ennemies meete them, they bee eyther deuoured with stormes, or by contrary wyndes constreigned to renne on quicke sandes or rockes. Wherefore we muste alway haue a great noumbre of shippes in makynge, and a great noumbre of persones retreigned to furnisshe theim.

¶ I wyll not omitte the moste necessarie prouision of graine for this citee, whiche oftentymes by scarcitee in the

countreyes adioignyng vnto vs, wee haue ben compelled to make in countreys farre distaunt from vs at verey high prices: whiche if the lyke necessitee happen vnto vs, vndoubtedly it wyll exhaust wonderfull treasours.

These thynges consydered, it shall seeme (I doubt not) expedient, that the common treasure remayne alwaye vntouched, but onely for commune necessitee, the incertaintee whereof proueth it impossible, that the common treasure shall be euer sufficient to relieue the priuate necessitee of thē that are spoken of, sence misfortune, and other constreigned meanes vnto pouertee, shall euery day happen to some man. Wherfore now let vs deuise a more certaine prouision.

¶ And truely fewe men haue so much compassion and charitee (the more pitie is it) that they wyll lende their goodes to an other man, haue they neuer so muche, excepte thereby may returne to thē some aduantage or profit. And to cōstreigne them to lend (except it were for defence of the weale publike) it were against iustice. Wher-

fore

foze finally this is my sentence, let a certaine gaine be limitted by thempe: rours maiestee, which being thought by vs tollerable to the bozower, and competently sufficient vnto the credi: tour, let it be declared by the Tribu: nes vnto the people, with the residue, whiche was indifferently and wisely deuised by Catelus Seuerus. And I doubt not, but that it wyll lightly passe & be inacted by all their voices. ¶This oracion and sentence of Goz: diane was well commended, as well of the emperour, as of all the senate. In conclusion, after a little debating it was appointed by the emperour, that the creditours shoulde haue foz the fozbearing of euery Sestertium, (whiche in Englysshe money of olde grotes, wherof. viii. made an ounce, amounteth to. iiii. li. xvi s. viii. d) foz euery day lone, the thyrde parte of As, called Triens, which was the thirde parte of an old Romaine penie called in latine Denarius, which was the poise of an old englisshe grote: and so the vsurie foz the whole yere a: mounted in Romaine money to, xii. d.

Sestertius.

As, Triens. Denarius.

one As, and.ii. Trientes, in accompt of Englisshe money .xii. grotes, the tenthe parte of a grote, and two partes of a tenthe parte deuyded in three partes, whiche summe mought bee more easily coumpted by the Romaines, whiche had the sayde small money Trientes coigned, than by vs that haue no suche money. Notwithstandyng for as muche as it well appeareth, that the gaine by the lone of one hundred poundes sterlynge by the whole yere, amounted not by this reckenynge but to .viii. li. xii. d. and the thirde part of a grote, or there about, comptyng by the olde grotes, whereof went but. viii. to the ounce, of the money currant, wherof dooe goe. xi. grotes to the ounce: the vsury amounteth to. v. li. x. s. vii. ob. or there about, whiche wyll seeme to al men, not beyng vsurers, to be agayne sufficient and reasonable. But nowe to retourne to our matter.

¶ This sentence of the emperour and senate beynge declared by the Tribunes, as it was appoynted, all the people with most ioyous spirites, and as loude

loude as they coulde crie, consented, that it shoulde be made a lawe perpetuall in euery poincte, accordynge as the emperour and Senate before had deuysed it. Wherupon incontinent the acte was drawen and publyshed, as hereafter folowerh.

¶ The lawe concernynge vsuries, made by the emperour, senate and people of Rome. Ca. xxxi.

NO necessitee be considered from henseforth in theim that consume theyr substaunce in dice playing, outragious expenses, or lecherie: Who so euer lendeth to them, let it be at his ieopardie and without hope of remedie.

¶ Whom fortune peruerse, longe sickenesse, seruice, frendshippe, disloyaltee of theym that be trusted, theues or oppressours haue brought vnto pouertee, to hym let men extende their compassion and charitee: or if his necessitee doo constreigne hym to borowe, lette him come to the prouost of the citee, and declare his necessitee, and wherof it proceded, hauing

with hym one Senatour, and two of the communers, persons wel knowen and credible, whiche beyng deposed, that his woordes be true and vnfeygned, and what they suppose shall be sufficient to relieue his necessitee, the Prouoste shall assigne one ryche man of the citee, yf the partie hym selfe name not an other, to whō, or to him that is named, the prouoste shall directe his letter in the name of the senate and people, wylling hym to deliuer to the sayde person, the sum that he needeth, takynge of him sufficient suretie for the repayment of the sum that he lent, with the increase for euery day sparinge of one Sestertium xii. Romaine pence, one As, and two Trientes, and so after that rate in al other summes aboue the summe of Sestertium, and not to exceede that gaine in any maner condicion.

¶ He that refuseth to lende for this gaine, let him as vnworthy the name of a Romaine, or to take any benefite by the weale publyke, be of the Censors deprined of the name of a citesin, and noted for euer with the crime of

ingra-

ingratude.

¶ This lawe decreed by the Senate, inacted by the people, confirmed by the imperiall maiestee, be for euer establysshed, and neuer by any other lawe, custome, or ordinaunce to be abolysshed. And who that with violence resisteth against it, let him be taken for rebell and ennemie vnto the weale publyke.

¶ What loue and benevolence the emperour shewed to the people of Rome, and of other his wonderfull vertues. Cap. xxxii.

YE haue hearde muche declared of the vertuouse severitee or sharpenesse of this noble emperour Alexander, nowe shall you here as muche of his gentilnesse, pacience, and affabilitee.

¶ After the sayde acte was proclaymed throughout Rome and Italie, the emperour callyng to his remembrance, that the sayd lawe was made onely for them, which hereafter shuld be constreigned to borowe, and that

there were many at that tyme in dan-
ger, whom by that acte shoulde take
no benefite, he beyng moued with pi-
tee, caused sodeinly serche to be made
by the Censors, howe many were in
the daunger of vsurie. And than sent
he for all the vsurers, and after that
he had a little blamed them for their
auarice and ingratitude towarde
theyr countrey, at the laste, alteryng
his countenaunce and speeche vnto
a more mildenesse, he desyred theym
all at his contemplacion, to take for
that tyme theyr principal summe that
was borowed, and clerely to remitte
all the residue, promisyng, that the
money shoulde be payed to them out
of his treasure. Whyche requeste
of the Emperour was pronounced
in so gentill a facion, that the cre-
ditors with one voice not only gran-
ted vnto it, but also prompted to re-
mitte part by his arbitrement, where
he thought conuenient. Which the
emperour moste thankefully takinge,
gaue the creditours leaue to departe,
commaundynge theym to kepe the
thyng secrete, vntill they knew more
of

of his pleasure.

¶ Than commaunded he, that al suche as were ronne in the daunger of usurie, shoulde be warned to come before hym, not at one day or tyme, but first they, whiche were reputed and knowen to be men of honestie, and by some misaduenture were brought vnto pouertee. And beyng truely certified, what goodes or landes they had in possession, he remembred to them what perill they were in, and lamented the state of the citee, that the gentilmen, by negligence or lacke of good housbandrie, shoulde be in bondage and captiuitee vnto the communers, whiche ought to be inferiours to theym, and do to them reuerence. O sayde he, where is the noble courage of Romulus progenie? Who foloweth Quincius, Publicola, Curius, Fabritius, noble Senatours? Whiche after that they hadde vainquished princes, and atchieued sundrie great victories, been diuerse tymes Consules and Dictatours, the highest dignitees within this citee, they lyued so moderately, that rather

than they woulde be subiectes to the auarice of other, they chase to liue in poore houses of husbandrie out of the citee. with a potte ful of worres, and suche a small a pitaunce for them and their wiues, as nowe our seruauntes woulde disdeigne to be fedde with. And lest abundance at any tyme, shuld prouoke them to liue more delicately, they refused not onely great summes of money sent to them by straungers, but also possessions offered theim by the Senate and people, for their inde nour and labours abonte the weale publike.

¶ Thus I saye vnto you, whom although misaduenture, or charges inforced, haue exhaust some or the more parte of your substaunce or patrimonie, yet haue ye not therefore abated your diete, nor absteigned from pleasures, nor minished your familie: but without vsyng good husbandrie, and without circumspection, haue contrary to the sayd honourable senatours, chosen rather to spende your olde age in miserie, and to be in bondage vnto your inferiours, than ye wold reteine

in capti-

in captiuitee your wanton appetites.
¶ But here, whan the emperour perceiued, that they were ashamed and made heuie countenaunce, than sayde he vnto theym: Would ye not gladly be eftesoones at libertee, at the leaste waye out of the daunger of vsurie? They with a voice moste lamentable aunswered: ye noble emperour. Wyll ye (sayde he) with good wyll paye to your creditours the principall duetie, hauyng tyme conuenient, that it maye be leuied of your possessions, hauyng lefte vnto you some porcion to lyue on? They aunswered: ye noble prince, elles were we vnhappy. Notwithstandyng among them were some, and not many, whiche had not lefte eyther goodes or possessions to pay the whole duetie. Than the emperour withdrue hym into his chambre, and caused them seuerally to be brought vnto hym one after an other, and accordyng to theyr substaunce in possessions or mouables, he rated thē to paye of the principall debte, some all, some more, and some lesse. And because they had not the money than redie,

redie, he promising to discharge them of the sayd paymentes by theyr consentes, assigned to theim, which had possessions, two partes thereof, and the third part he reserued to him selfe vntyll the summe were thereof receyued: Wherto they were rated.

Of theym that had goodes and no possessions, he appo[illegible] that the summe, wherevnto th[illegible] were rated, shoulde be valued in the sayde monables by theyr owne frendes, and bee brought vnto some place, wher by the emperours officers it shoulde be receiued. And ere they departed, he caused in theyr presence, euery summe to be seuerally tolde out of his cofers. And than sente he for all the creditours, and puttyng theim in remembraunce of theyr gentill promise made vnto hym, and declarying also what he had dooen: he caused euery mans porcion accordyng to the saide rate to be deliuered vnto theym. And for theim whiche had neyther good nor possessions, he payed halfe of the principall debte out of his owne cofers, with a cleare acquitaunce vnto

the

the partie. And commaundyng the creditours, to bryng to hym cancelled the obligacions and instrumentes belongyng to the sayde duities, and geuyng to theym hertie thankes, he let them departe.

¶ Semblably perswadyng the debtours to frugalitee or moderate lyuynge, he also prayed them to foresee as muche as they coulde, that wilfully they committe not them selues to the hasardes of fortune: he than imbrasyng theym all, badde them fare well: who geuyng to hym most humble thankes, and for ioye pouring out abundance of teares, departed with glad cydynges home to theyr houses.

¶ As for theim, whiche at dice playynge, in riotte and lechery, had consumed theyr substance, he if any were lefte, caused it to be valewed, as wel possessions as mouables, and to bee deuyded amonge theyr creditours, accordyng to the quantitee of the trewe debte: And in satisfaction of the remnaunt, he adiudged them bonde: So that for a certeyne tyme, as the Emperour woulde appoynt hym, hauyng

Dispyng debtors.

hauyng regarde to the debte, he shuld ſerue one creditour, and afterwarde an other, in moſt vile ſeruices, receiuyng therefore nothynge, but onely meate, drinke, and clothing, belongyng to ſlaues. And that the creditours ſhoulde haue ouer theym equally as muche auctorite as they had ouer theim, which they had bought or taken in battayle. Notwithſtandinge it was at the libertee of the creditours, to aquite them of theyr ſeruice, but not to infranchiſe theym, vntyll the time were expired, which was by the emperour appoincted: but during that tyme, they ware continually the habite or apparayle aſſigned to bond men, ne were eſteemed for Romaines, nor enioyed any priuilege.

¶ If they obediently ſerued and contented theyr creditours, at the end of the terme, whiche the emperour appoincted they were ſet at libertee, and reſtored to theyr fyrſte eſtate and condicion.

¶ But if they ſledde from theyr maiſter, or contemptuoully withſtode his commaundmentes, fyghting with him

or do-

or doyng to hym any notable iniurie, they were condemned to perpetuall seruitude duryng theyr lyues. They whiche had lest nothyng to pay their creditours, to theym be appointed a longer captiuitee, estemyng the value of his seruice as well to the faculte of the person as to his estate and condicion. As if he were very wittie, well learned, or a perfect artificer, by reason wherof his seruice moughte seeme very commodious or profitable. Also beyng a gentilman, the more estimacion that he were of, the more greuouse and odiouse to hym shuld be his seruice and punishement: Wherefore to the one and the other, lesse tyme was thought to be sufficient, than to thē which were of grosse witte, or ignorant of good occupacion, or elles base or vile of condicion. ¶ This ordinaunce beyng put in due execucion: it was thought at the first of some men to be very cruell: but after that it was once perceyued, what a meruaylous frugalitee or temperaunce of lyuynge, was sodeinely founde, as well in the citee of Rome, as al:

as also through out all Italie: Also what delite men toke to be seen them selues moderate in apparayle, honest in lyuyng, also exercisyng theym selues in passimes conuenient, not dishonest or chargeous. Also to haue them in derision, whom they found in any maner of wise attempting the contrarie. Then extolled they the excellente witte and vertue of the moste noble emperour. And where afore they called hym cruell & tirannous, they ceassed not to name him equal to the goddes, most benigne and most gracious, confessyng, that had not ben his seueritee, they all with the leitee and empire had vtterly perisshed.

¶ Of the circumspect curiositee of the emperour Alexander in admittyng counsaylours. And of his aunswers touchyng that matter. Capitulo. xxxiii.

THe incomparable diligence of this noble emperour about the weale publyke, is to be meruayled at, and of all princes to be obserued and folowed. For what by his owne

owne trauaile and excellent prudēce, what by his continuall scrutinie by wise and honest espialles, he assuredly knew the qualitees, maners, & appetites of all men (except verey fewe) dwellyng in Rome or Italie, whiche eyther by reason of theyr possessions or substaunce, or for any other estimacion amonge theyr neyghbours, were lykely to be called to some auctoritee. Also of all those, whiche in other regions and prouinces, were for some cause notable or famouse. This knowlage caused hym to be circumspect in admittyng counsaylours and other great officers. As amonge many exemples I wyll declare one, whereof I my selfe can beare witnesse.

¶ After the death of Quintilius Marcellus, a man in great auctoritie about the emperour, as he was well worthie for his singular wisedome and vertue (in so muche as it was thought, that there was neuer a better man borne in Rome, and therfore the emperour did extreemely lamente his death) the noble man Frontine, whom also the emperour entierly lo-

ned, awaytyng his tyme, aduaunced to hym with a commendable repoꝛte an honourable personage, who was named Fabius Macrinus, to be in the place of Marcellus.

¶ After the emperour had herde and well considered the wooꝛdes of Frontinus, wherby was set fooꝛth the ancient stocke from whens Fabius descended, his great possessions and substance, the grauitee of his personage, his great experience in sundꝛy auctoritees: the emperour did cast on Frontine a displeasaunt countenance, and after that he ceased to speake, the emperour made aunswere in this wyse: How much hath your iudgement deceiued vs Frõtine? how could ye this lõge dissẽble with vs, I had thought that ye had euer esteemed the stocke by the fruite, and not the fruite by the stocke. No man commendeth the boughes oꝛ bꝛaunches, because the stemme of the tree is great, longe, oꝛ streight: but if they be wel spꝛeading, thicke of greene leaues, and well set with good fruite, than men say, that tree hath a faire toppe, that tree bea-

reth

teth good fruite. And although the tree be neuer so misshapen or crooked, the owner wyll digge about it, and vse al diligence for to preserue it: but if the stocke be neuer so fayre, yf the boughes be rotten or seare, the owner will shredde theim, and throw theim into the fire. If the fruite be vnsauerie or withered, who taketh any great heede of the tree? who wyll gather the fruite? But rather lette theim rotte on the tree, or fal downe: for he careth not for theim. Who loueth a rotten groundsill or poste, because it was part of an ancient house? Who setteth by a ragged, a restie, or ill fauoured colte, because that the harreise, whereof that kinde is comen, two hundred yeres passed wanne the price of rennyng at the game of Olympus? I confesse, that longe continuaunce in any thyng that is good, addeth an admiration, but no praise to the thyng: al be it, the thing founden good, praiseth the countinaunce or longe endurynge thereof. A good childe renueth and also augmenteth the preise of his parentes: the ill child

raseth out of mens hertes the fathers honour and benefites.

Possessions. ¶ Also great possessions or substance maketh vertue suspected, because they be ministers of pleasaunt affections, & also nources of wanton appetites.

¶ Moreouer the grauitee of the personage is not proued by stately countenaunce or disdeignefull silence: but by constaunce in vertue, and woordes alway apte for the time and purpose. And experiẽce, which is not cõmẽded by laudable actes, deserueth no more preises, than the gate of a blind horse about a wyde horsemill, which grindeth no corne. And that old capitaine which in many battailes and iourneis hath been founde alwaye negligent, deserueth no garlande. Many auctoritees do require an exquisite triall, for as much as auctoritee doeth abate feare, and minister boldnesse, boldenesse draweth in licence, licence is mother of mischiefe, which needes must be suffred vntyll fauour relenteth.

Auctoritee.

Licence.

¶ These thinges considered, Frontinus, eyther your iudgement is not so perfecte as I woulde haue taken it

to

to be, or elles ye secretely winkyng at the sayde faultes, haue dissembled longe with me, and kepte thynges from my knowlage, contrary to your allegeaunce and duitie.

¶ With these wordes Frontinus beyng afeardc, kneled downe, and besought the emperour to pardon hym of his folly, confessynge that he had not perfect knowlage of the dispositcion and maners of the sayd Fabius. But for as muche as he had been fauourable towarde him and his friendes in his ministracions, he mutually desyred his aduauncement.

¶ Thercat smyled the emperour and sayde: Shall this plage neuer ceasc, whiche in realmes and citees hath so longe reigned? that mutuall beneficence blindeth mens iudgementes. Power. And whyles power with pleasures getteth great acquaintaunce, vertue is vnknowen, and in the court friendlesse. I know, Frontinus, that pride in Fabius Macrinus is a domesticall vyce. For in all the house of Fabius it hath been excedyngly noted, and in some histories remembred. And in

this man, as well the remembraunce of his auncient nobilitee, as his long continuance in auctoritee, hath more increased it: as I my selfe haue marked, and also heard other murmuryng at it, whan I haue secretly walked in the citee in a priuate apparail. Wherfore I wyl not that he be in our counsaile nor palaice, that eyther his pride shoulde be of younge men folowed, or of olde men disdeigned, or of vs suspected.

¶ His great possessions and ryches declareth, that he can not be with a little contented, sens the more parte thereof he hath gathered vnder the colour of his authoritees, beyng not left vnto hym by his owne parentes, nor receiued of our liberalitee, nor by the gyft of our predecessours. And very seldome where honour increaseth auarice abateth. I hate not Fabius in the state that he nowe is, although I fauoure not in hym the sayde notable vices, but if he were neuer vnto vs, we coulde neither sustaine them, nor suffre him vnpunished if he than vsed them.

Honour.

¶ Also in his longe experience I neuer herde hym for iustice commended: but I haue heardē his arrogance, his longe delaying of suiters, and his parcialitee of many dispraysed. Truely such a man is neither meete to be a nigh counsaylour, nor to say the truth in any great office.

¶ These thinges considered, Frontinus, speake no more of hym, but serch for some other, in whom sincerite and temperaunce be ioigned with wysedome. Such one, if he be of an auncient house shall bryng to our palaice an honourable remembraunce of his noble progenitours, and as well to noble as vnnoble shalbe an excellente paterne or president. If he be but late come to worshyppe, his aduancement shall ingender in noble men an honest enuie, eyther to excede hym in vertue, or at the least to be iudged equall vnto hym. To poore men it shall be an allectife and roote of good hope, that they be in the ranke, where the rewarde of vertue is dealed.

And thus ceassed the emperour to speake And Frontinus departed, being both a

shamed of his enterprise, and abashed at the wysedome of his noble maister.

¶ The most noble answere of Alexander made to Alphenus, concernyng the disablyng of Sertilius Rufus in his absence. Capitulo. xxxiiii.

Lampridius.

THe Emperoure had a custome, whiche was very commendable, that he neuer made any senatour, without the counsayle of the whole Senate: and euery senatour shoulde geue his sentence. Also testimonie of his lyuing and credence shoulde be brought in by honourable personages. But if eyther the Senators that spake, or the witnesses were founden to haue spoken untruly, they were reiected in the lowest place of estimacion amonge the people, beeyng also condemned as deceiuers or forgers without hope of remission.

¶ There was dwellynge in a village by Rome a gentilman called Sertilius Rufus, whiche was right well learned in all partes of philosophie, & also in the sciences liberall. But forasmuch

almuch as he considered the frequent alteracion of the weale publike, with the manyfolde perils and troubles in the administracion therof, he of purpose withdrew hym therfro as muche as he mought, although his father had ben a senatour in his lyfe, and he amonge his neyghbours and diuers of the nobilitee was had in good reputacion. Notwithstandyng for the causes before rehearsed, and that he desyred nothyng so muche as quietnesse of mynde, and to solace hym selfe in the most pleasaunt herbar of science: and visiting the most delectable workes of ancient wryters, he seldome came to the emperours court, or resorted to playes or bankets, ne did come to salute the great officers nor men in auctoritee, as the vse was at that time. And among the yong galātes he was not beloued, because he fauoured not theyr riottous pastymes. And the men of lawe had hym in disdeigne, because he repugned againste their subtill gloses, and blamed their auarice. Finally, he beyng fully contēt with the golden mean, liued right honest:

honestly in a manour, whiche he had cõpetently furnished with possessions sufficiẽt for the prouision of his meane housholde, whiche was to his neyghbours more bountyous thã sumtuouse. ¶ After the emperour had pourged his palace and the senate of vnworthy persons, corrupted with detestable vices, and with muche difficultee founde other to set in their places: It happened, that some good man named to him Sertilius Rufus, declarig the common reporte, whiche he had hearde of hym. The emperour, who knew al to be true that was spoken, helde his peace not withstandynge, hearkenyng what shoulde be other mens sentences. The more part of theim whiche were present, affirmed, that Rufus, for his honestee, wysedome, and learning, was meete to be of the senate: but three or foure sayd nothyng. At the laste Alphenus, a great lawier, and in good estimacion with the emperour, obiected, sayinge. That not withstandynge that Rufus was learned in dyuers sciences, yet was he neither profoundly learned in

the lawes ciuile, nor muche experienced in affaires of the empire. And that his little husbandry, and small prouision aboute the encreale of his lyuing, declared hym to be a man of no great policie, nor of any dexteritee about thynges of importaunce. And that the aptitude of his nature was onely in studiouse meditacion of sundry sciences, and in wrytynge more than in dooyng. Addyng to, that phylosophers are neuer good practyclers in a weale publyke, nor yet good men of warre. Wherefore in as muche as he that is a senatour, not onely ought to be a man meete for politike gouernance, as well in geuyng counsayle in mattiers thereto perteignyng, as also beyng chosen to be Pretor, or to any other ministracion of Justice, not to be ignorant in geuyng iudgement in causes brought before him: but also he ought to haue some experience in marciall affaires, that beyng chosen consull, or leader of the hoste of the Romaynes, he mought see the men of warre to bee well instructed and exercised.

And

And that in all thinges belongyng to warre, the state of the citee be sufficiently furnished. Moreouer that in bataple ioigned eyther by his ignorance or baseneſſe of courage, the Romaine armie be not destroyed. These thinges considered, it seemed to hym, that it was not expedient to receiue Rufus into the numbre of Senatours.

¶ The empreour heryng Alphenus, and seeyng, that no man proffred to speake after hym, except thre or foure moe, which were lawyers, and one Oninins Camillus a noble man, who had some displeasure towarde Rufus for one of his seruantes: these seemed by theyr countenances to approue the sayinge of Alphenus. That perceyuyng the emperour, lokynge on Alphenus, spake in maner as hereafter folowethe.

¶ I see well Alphenus, that not only the vulgare and vnlettered people be angrely stered, and dooe reteyne displeasure againſt them, whiche without malice, dooe rebuke in a generaltee the vyces and faultes, whiche be founden amonge theym: but also

which

(which I doe lament) men specially chosen for theyr wisedome and learnyng, dooe disdeigne theim that rebuke the abuse of that studie or exercise, which these wise men most chiefly haue haunted. I know that Sertilius in one of his bokes hath sharpely noted the detriment doen vnto iustice by couetouse lawyers, whiche by theyr subtyll wittes haue inuolued the lawes ciuile into suche obscure and ambiguouse sentences, that no man without theyr declaracions, may knowe howe to dooe or minister iustice in cases, for the whiche the sayd lawes haue prouyded. For they that make lawes can expounde theim afterwarde without a lawier, whiche perchaunce was not fyrste priuie to the lawe makynge. These and like annotacions of Rufus dooe not a little offende you, that be lawiers, although ye haue abandoned practise. And that displeasure onely hath caused you to make this conclusion, that Rufus is not meete to be of the Senate, the residue of your argument dooeth sufficiently proue it.

First

¶ Fyrſte the diuerſitee of ſciences, wherein your ſelfe dooe confeſſe, that he is well learned, doth not diſable hym to be a Senatour, but maketh hym more conuenient and neceſſarie for ſo noble a counſaile. For to whom dooeth it more appertayne, to vſe woordes in theyr propre ſignificacion, and to ſet them in order, ſo that they make not the ſence peruerſe or doubtefull, than to a ſenatour, or one hauyng rule in a weale publike: and that is the thyng, whiche Grammer teacheth?

Grammer.

¶ Logike is none other, but the ſcience of reſonyng, helpyng naturall witte to fynde truthe more quickely out of dyuers opinions, by affirmyng or denyng: which in a ſenatour may not be ſpared.

Logike.

¶ A man ſhall not well gouerne a citee or countrey, and ſette in good order the maners of people (as Plutarche ſayth) excepte he be well furniſhed with eloquence, wherewith onely he may perſwade, affectuouſely ſtere, incline, and leade where he liſteth the myndes of the multitude:

Rhetorike.

And

And that is beste learned by Rhetorike.

¶ How many thynges happen in the state of a citee or realme, whiche requireth a diligent and exact computacion with numbres? and that by Arithmetike is best perceiued. Arithmetike.

¶ In assignyng of boundes and limittes, also to the makyng of munitions and fortresses, also in deuisyng of engines for warres, who dare saye, that Geometrie is not expediēt? whiche describeth equalitee and inequalitee, aptenesse and knaptnes, good proporcion, and deformitee. Geometrie.

¶ Also without harmonie nothyng is seemely or pleasaunt, and by concorde and discorde all publike weales do stande and decay, ye and as some philosophers haue writtē, by them all thynges had theyr begynnyng. And this is beste vnderstande by the science called Musike. Musike.

¶ Moreouer he that leadeth an armie, if he be instructed in the diuerse temperatures of sundry countreis, by the naturall discourse of the sunne, by the fiue circles, the alteracion of Oeconomie

houres

houres in day and nyght, by the distance of climes and paraleles, whiche be sensible lines and spaces, whes by the sunne passeth about the firmament: Also the moone with her mutable figures, and specially authorite ouer waters and humours: the naturall influence of other celestiall bodies and signes, I meane in plentee or scarcitee of thinges concernyng mans sustinance, and in stormes or caulmenesse of wether: All whiche thynges be knowen by the diuine science called Astronomie, I say if a capitayne be therein instructed, and not to muche curious or arrogant, he shall the more safely kepe alway his armie. Julius Cesar beynge therein exactely learned, vanquished by celeritee and sundry preuencions not onely the fortune and moste experte chiualrie of valiant Pompei, but also the incomparable wittes of fiue hundred Senatours. And our noble progenitour Hadriane the emperour was thought to haue exploited thynges in battaile by the helpe of this scięce aboue mens expectacion. I omitte Hercules,

which

whiche became disciple to Atlas, for the commoditee which he thought to finde in Astronomie. Finally as ye all know, I haue had no little delyte in these foure mathematicall sciences, and yet haue for the vtilitee that I fynde in them, when I doe contẽplate the perfect state of weale a publyke: And the same is approued bothe by Plato and Aristotle, whiche shapeth theyr examples by portions of Arithmetike, Geometrie, and Musicke, where they wryte of Concorde in vertues, or politike gouernaunce.

¶ This well considered, a Senatour eyther for geuyng of counsayle, or for beynge a capitayne in warres, shall finde none impediments, by hauynge these sciences: but vsing them moderately, and as occasion requireth, they shalbe to hym not onely an excellent ornament, but also a necessarie treasure, and to all sortes of gouernaunce a thynge ryght expedient.

¶ What although Sertilius be not profoũdly lerned in the lawes ciuile: is that a good argumente, that therfore he may not be a good coũsailour,

or in other auctorities about the weale publike? Consisteth all the Senate of lawiers? Or standeth the weale publike, and all her affaires, onely by lawes all redy stablysshed? Maye no publyke weale be without lawiers? Howe many noble Senatours haue there ben, and yet are, whiche neuer radde ouer all the. xii. tables? and yet haue they be found to reason wittily, and minister prudently. Be lawes any thynge els than rules of Justice, whereby she commaundeth what should be done, and what ought not to be done, where a weale publike should prosper? Than is it euident, that Justice maketh lawes, and not lawe Justice. Also he that redeth the lawe, seeth the commaundemente of Justice, but seyng the lawe onely in that that he seeth it, he dooeth not knowe Justice: but contrary wyse, he that knoweth iustice, by her may discerne what is right or wronge, what is equall or vnequall, and by the paterne of Justice may inuent a remedy propice and necessarie, which expressed in woorde or wryting may be cal-

led a

ted a lawe. The knowlage of Justice eyther happeth by speciall influence from the high god: or els it is gotten with the studie of wisedome, comprehended in the bokes of wise men, who of Pythagoras were called Philosophi, which doeth signifie the louers of wisedome Wherfore they, whiche either by diuine inspiracion, or by studie of the woorkes of excellent wyse men, haue the truest knowlage of Justice, and haue beste vnderstandynge what is iust, and what is vniust, and consequentely can prouyde remedies accordyng to Justice: whiche remedies yf they ones be made vniuersall, they be lawes, how so euer they be pronounced, be it by a multitude or by one persone, as the Edict not only of the emperour, but also of him that is Pretor, is a law as well as that whiche is made by al the whole senate, or inacted by the Tribunes and people of Rome. Philosophi.

¶ And where ye saye, that philosophiers were neuer good practisers in a weale publike, nor yet good men of warre, if ye doe meane by practyse, Philosophier.

that detestable exercise, which is subtill deceiuing, craftie exterminynge, maintenaunce of iniustice, peruerse counsaylyng, and vnmeasurable getyng, I confirme that your saying.

Practise. For a Philosopher abhorreth suche practise, and as much as he may doeth & perswadeth the contrarie. But yf ye doe intende by that woord practise, only the laudable exercise in the administracion of a weale publyke, truely ye be in a greatter errour and follie, and do speake as if ye were one of the vulgar people ignorannt of letters. ye and that more is, priuate displeasure hath caused you to forgette what ye your selfe haue seene, contrarie to that whiche nowe ye haue spoken. I wyll not reherse all them, whiche beynge studious in Philosophie, haue gouerned publyke weales, or haue executed theyr ministracion therin substanciallye: but some wyll I speake of.

¶ Who gouerned Aegypt and Libya more noblie, thā Hermes called Mercurius Trismegistus? And what philosopher was in all sciences equall vnto him?

him? Who euer kept his countrey in
luche a quietnesse, and made it so rich
as Salomon kyng of the Hebrewes?
which as it is founden in theyr histo-
ries, trãslated into Greke by the com
maundemẽt of Ptholomie called Phi-
ladelphus, kyng of Aegypte, was so
great a philosopher, that he disputed
of all thynges naturall and supernа-
turall: and for his wonderfull know
lage there came to here hym out of all
partes of the worlde men and womẽ,
beyng at that tyme in most reputacion
of learnyng? Was euer this citee of
Rome in so good order as it was du-
ring the time of Numa Põpilius, whi
che was fortie yeres, who beyng an
excellent philisophier, and a priuate
persone, was chosen to be kyng: and
so muche more is his gouernaunce to
be commended, that he brought the
people, which were rude, fierse, and
euer cõtinually in warres, with their
neighbours, into so good an order &
temperance of maners, that they whi-
che before were their enmies, had thẽ
in admiracion and reuerence? Who
made better lawes, or better ordered

Theyr lawes.

the common weale of the citee of Athenes than Solon the great philosopher, as longe as they coulde sustein theyr owne welthe? The same citee had neuer a more noble capitaine, nor a more valiaunt, than Pericles: who with Anaxagoras cõtinually studied philosophy. And to descend to a more late time: where was there a better capitaine, or a more noble warriour than Scipio Affricane? who had alway with him Polibius the philosopher, and in vacant times from battaile he either hearde him rede, or disputed with him.

¶ Semblably Lucullus was so studiouse in all kyndes of learnynge (as Plutarche wryteth) that wheare he hearde, that anye greatte learned men disputed together, thither wold he goe, and studiously heare theim: and (as the same authour sayth) he haunted and imbraced all kynde of philosophie, with moste familiar acquaintaunce and custome, specially that whiche was called Academica, or the doctrine of Plato. And was there euer a more noble, a more polit-

like

tyke or more valiant capitaine, and more esteemed and drad of moste puis-sant princes than he was? Lord god, what a senatour was Cato, called Ui-ticensis? whose vertue was wondered at throughe the worlde, whose mag-nanimitee and incomparable seueri-tee more prokyted vnto the publyke weale of the citee, than the victories of Pompei and Cesar. And was nat he so studiouse in philosophie, that he coulde not temper him selfe, but must nedes rede Greke bokes, whā he sate in the Senate? What consull can ye compare to Marcus Tullius, who onely by his diuine and most excellent wisdome preserued the publike weale and citee of Rome from vtter subuer-cion, whiche needes must haue hap-ned by the conspiracy of Catiline and his confederates, yf it had not been by the incomparable wit of Tullius founde out, and by his diuine clo-quence plainely conuicted, and by his wonderfull wisedome suppressed and cleane extinguished: And howe stu-dious he was, and exactly learned in all kindes of philosophy & eloquence,

his moſt noble woorkes dooe declare with fame immortall.

¶ I paſſe ouer Nigidius, Varro, Traſea, and many other ſage and honorable ſenatours, which were nat onely excellent philoſophers, but alſo prudent counſailours and valiaunt cappytaynes: yet wyl I reherſe ſome, which were in the time of your remẽbrance.

¶ The Emperour Adriane was ſo profoundly learned in al philoſophie, that he diſputed openly at Athenes, with the chiefe philoſophiers of all Grecia, and vanquiſhed Phauorinus, who at that tyme was of all other moſt famouſe: and to what prince or capitayne geueth he place, either in marcial proweſſe, or ciuile gouernãce.

¶ What more honour euer hapned to Rome, thã that Marcus Aurelius Antoninus ſucceded immediately Adriã: whoſe lyfe was confeſſed to be the moſte certaine lawe vnto all people to rule or be ruled: And he for his exquiſite knowlage in all philoſophy, was moſte commonly called Antonine the philoſophier, not by reprochе as ſome woulde ſuppoſe it: but for a moſte

excellent

excellent and rare commendacion.
And what man did euermore encrease the weale publike, or better defende it, than did this most noble and vertuouse emperour? And be it of you receiued without suspicion of boste, as it shall be spoken of me without anye vainglory: I which may not be compared with the most inferiour of them before named, either in lerning or prowesse: yet how muche I haue amended the state of the weale publyke, ye all can beare witnesse: and that I haue nothyng appaired the imperiall maiestee, it hath bene of the Senate and people in your presence confessed. And this coulde I not so well haue doen, if I had not instructed my wyt with the doctrine of Philosophiers.
What say you by Bordiane, Venatus Aelius, Serenianus, Catilius, Seuerus, Frōtinus, Tacitus, & Aurelianus honourable Senatours, & our trusty counsailours? and Sabinus, whiche sitteth here with vs? haue they not ryght well shewed theym selues to be apte vnto gouernaunce, whan they haue been Consulles, Tribunes, and

Pretors : yet be they no Lawyers, but the moze parte of theym be studiouse in philosophy, and other liberall sciences.

¶ And nowe to make an ende of this mattier, wherin I haue taried the lenger, to the intent that I woulde extirpate this vaine opinion, which men haue had against philosophiers, and theim that be studiouse. Truely that, which ye dooe note in Sertilius to be litell husbandry and small prouision, procedeth not by lacke of good policy. as ye haue supposed, but he aduisedly doeth neglect to be riche, or to aspire to any auctoritee by ambicion or flatterie, preferryng temperate and sure quietnesse, before daungerous and vnthankefull labours: and more esteemeth to be an honest liuer, than a malapert crauer.

¶ Also by the studie in philosophie it seemeth that he hath acquited a great magnanimitee or noble courage, not extendyng the force of his witte and knowlage in thynges, which are but of little importaunce: wherein he fareth lyke to the puissaunte greyhounde

hounde, which was sent to the great Alexander by the kynge of Albanie: vnto whom whan there was brought a great Bulle, he therefore woulde not once meue: afterwarde a mightie and fierce Lion was lykewyse shewed to him, whiche he onely beheldе and moued his tayle, but he woulde not therfore arise out of his place. Finally there was brought forth a meruayloufe great Olifant: than stode he on his feete, and did fette vp his bristelles, and shewed his teeth, and beeyng comforted by Alexander, he lepte to the Oliphant, and bytte hym: and after a fewe assaultes kylled hym: likewise Sertilius beyng contēt with his astate, extendeth not his witte to augment it (but if he be fauourably called to thinges of great importance and therin well comforted, I doubte not, but that he wyll shewe, that his studie hath not been vaynely employed. I meruaile, that ye dooe not consider, that auctoritee and fauour not onely sheweth a good witte, but also dooeth polysshe that whiche is rude. Fullars, taylours, hosse-

horsekepers, and marinars, were by themperour Commodus, and my predecessour Heliogabalus, aduaūced to be Consules, Pretors, and Tribunes whiche as I hard say, were so changed in theyr wittes, that it semed vnto them, whiche knewe them before, that sauing theyr visage, & personage they were altered and made other mē, so much in theyr woordes and procedynges they excelled aboue theyr customable wittes, all mens expectaciō. Howe muche more hope is there of those men, which by education & studie haue their wittes holpē? Suppose ye not, that there be within our empire thousandes of men, which being but of meane reputacion, if they were set in autoritee, or about their person, would set forth noble wittes equal to yours, and perchaunce better (whiche I speake not displeasantly, but only to warne you to eschewe arrogancie.) Truely god geueth wisedome, but fauour and auctoritee most chiefely sheweth it in a weale publike. Earth norisheth the roote of a tree, but the comfortable sun bringeth forth the blossomes:

somes: and if stormes doe not let, he with his holsom heat ripeth the fruit and maketh it pleasant. In lykewise studie and labour bringeth in knowlage, which by the comfort of princes appeareth abrode in some ministracion. And if enuie or displeasure bryng none impediment: the increase of fauour maketh learnyng fruitfull & profitable vnto the weale publike: ye all here my sētence. And for as much as the more part of you (as I well dooe perceiue) esteme no lasse Sextilius Rufus than I doe, I wyl that he be sent for, & receiued into the senate, and his name registred in the table of Senatours, wherunto al the cōsail accordyng, it was for that tyme dissolued. ¶ Howe Sextilius hearyng that he was made Pretor, fled: And what the emperour sayd concernyng the matter. Capitulo. xxxv.

After it was declared vnto the Senate, that the emperour had chosen Sextilius Rufus to be a Senatour, and that he had sayde on his behaulfe, they all reioyced in the emperours wisedome and iudgement, and

and at his next commyng into the Senate they all did arise and gaue thankes vnto him, for bringyng into that college such a man as Sertilius was. Soone after Sertilius being sent for by the emperours most gentil letters, came into the Senate, and as his learnynge and honeste maners requyred, was beloued and commended of all men, except veray fewe, whom enuie and priuate displeasure continually freted: whiche the wise emperour perceiuyng, to the intent that as wel the vertues of Sertilius shoulde be more knowen, and also be increased by his comfortable assistence, as also to manifeste to the comforte of other, howe muche he was inflamed in the fauour of vertue and doctrine, he caused Sertilius to be chosen Pretor, which thā was the highest office next to the emperour, in the ministracion of Justice. Therof hearing Sertilius, he beynge therat abaished and meruailouse sorowfull, priuilie withdrew him selfe out of the cicee: and not making longe abode at his owne house, in a straunge habite, hauynge but one man with

Pretor.

hym

him, went vnto Athenes, determining to passe his tyme there in studie vntill the fame of hym were somewhat decreased, and an other chosē vnto that office. Of this the aduersaries of Sertilius gathered no little occasion, not onely to pursue him, with mockes and derision, but also to accuse him vnto the emperour of disobedience and obstinacie contrary to his allegeaunce, and also to blame him for his departure, without asking licence. Al these occasions the emperour herde without beyng any thyng mened agaynste Sertilius, and at the laste, beholding the accusers with a displeasant countenance he said vnto them as hereafter foloweth.

¶ How dare ye, thus presumtuously assaulte our pacience with your false accusacions? Or howe maye ye for shame powre out your malice thus in our presence? What geueth you boldnesse to be thus malapert in attemptyng our reason with your enuious persuasions? Thynke ye vs to be so dull and grosse witted, that we can not perceiue your conspiracies? or so deafe

deafe, that we can not heare your false rumours, whiche ye haue spread of Sertilius? or so blynde, that we se not your cancred affections and passions sparkelyng in your eyes, inflamyng your vysage, blastyng out with your wordes, whiche for anger and haste, be to set out of order, that in theym dooe appeare your detestable follie. I tel you Sertilius by this his departing, hath nothing offended vs, or minished the opinion that we haue had of hym, but hath augmented it, and ryght well contented vs. For if enuy and malyce hath not made you forgetfull, ye may remembre, that whan we chose him to be a senatour, one thing, wherin we commẽded him was, that he neglected to be ryche, or to aspire to auctoritee: see ye not how he hath confirmed my sayinge, and that I spake it not for speciall affection: he hath not only neglected auctoritee, but that more is, he is fledde from it, whan it came towarde him. Whan we sent for him, he came vnto vs, and beyng appointed to be a senatour, he did obey vs, and gladly ap-

plyed

plied his studie and counsaile thereto pertaignyng: onely hearyng that he was chosē Prētor, before that he had monicion therof, he fled, as if he had been pursued with suche force, as he had not been able to striue with, fearyng (as I said, whan I preised him) the daungerous and vnthankfull labours, whiche he supposed to be in such offices. And whither, or to whō is he fled? not to the Persians, not to the people of Barbarie, or other our ennemies: but he is peasibly gone vnto Athenes, whiche citee nexte vnto Rome we moste fauour. And there in a priuate habite he liueth in studie, in that exercise which he supposeth that he can better sustaine, than the gouernaunce of a weale publyke. But not withstandyng, shall we therefore reiect hym, and iudge him vnworthye to be called to auctoritee? May than were we yll aduised, and mought be noted variable in our opinion, sens we iudged hym once hable for neglectyng therof, we now deme him mete hable for the refusyng: ne we will be therfore more slacke in the offeryng:

yea, we also wyll therto gentylly requyre hym. For truely auctorite ought to be geuē to suche as care least for it: and kept from theym, whiche preace fastest towarde it. For he that desyreth, wolde haue it for his only commodite: he that loketh not for it, considereth, that he is chosen for others necessite. Therfore how diuers is theyr ministracio, it euer appereth, where as both happeneth. Leaue your vayne enterpryse, to bryng vs in displeasure with hym, who is worthy more honour than we can geue hym, and by his laudable flight hath vanquyshed your enuie, and to your great reproche hath publyshed your folly. We therfore cōmaunde you to auoide out of our presence, and that we see you not vntyll we call for you.

Auctorite.

¶ The letters of the emperour Alexander sent to Sertilius, and how vnwyllyngely he retourned to Rome, & receiued the office of Pretor. Cap. xxxv.

Forthwith the Emperour hym selfe indited letters vnto Sertilius, in maner folowing. Alexander Augustus

Augustus. &c. The tydinges of your sodeine departyng, honourable Sertilius, was to the senate and people greuouse, to your enemies (although they be fewe) pleasant and ioyous, dolorouse to your frendes, of whome there be many: but to vs not strange, displeasant, nor meruaylouse: forasmuche as we longer haue knowen your notable temperaunce, than we haue vsed your presence. Wherfore nowe we more consyder your humilite and vertuous shamefastenesse, than that which your enemies doe call obstinacie and disobedience. Perswade your selfe, that where before we did fauour you, now do we moste hertily loue you, and haue no lesse ardaunt desyre to haue the fruicion of your vertue and learnyng, than ha ye the true louer of his wyfe or companion. What such loue is, ye that haue be at Socrates banket, do know moste certainly. Returne therfore with honour Gentilly Sertilius, satisfie the desire of me, that am both your emperour and louer, reioyce the senate and people, shame your enemies, & recom-

for your friendes. Let it suffise vnto shamefastnesse, that she hath caused you to ieoparde, not onely your estimacion and credence, but also your life and substaunce, if there had been a senate vncircumspect, a people disordered, or an emperour a tyranne. Let hir nowe geue place to prudence and magnanimitee, hir time of rule is expyred in you, theirs is now come: for diuine prouidence hath so prouyded, and willeth it be so, sens she hath called you to the dignitee, which ye haue well deserued. In vaine were your long trauaile in studie and learnyng, yf actuall experience dyd not shewe foorth theyr fruites. I confesse that the bokes, which ye haue made haue well instructed other to gouernaunce: but yet whan the publyke weale. Publyke weale calleth you, to be redie in your owne persone to serue hir, it is your chiefe office and duitie. For so God hath ordeined you, nature commaundeth you, your countrey compelleth you, and philosophie beadeth you. Returne therfore hardily, and accept with good courage, and thankefully

the rewarde of your vertue: Ne the
miniſtracion ſhall bee ſtraunge vnto
you, that in ſtudie haue had with iu-
ſtice ſuche familiaritee, and haue rad
ſo many bokes of good pollicie. Alſo
(which ought muche to comforte you)
ye haue a fauourable Emperour, ex-
perte aſſiſtentes, diligent miniſters,
and people obedient: ye being Pretor,
how many men experte in that office
ſhall deſyre your companie, and bee
gladde to participate with you, that
whiche experience or cuſtome hath v-
ſurped from learnyng: Where lawe
ciuile is neceſſarie, among your aſſi-
ſtentes ſhall euer be ſome, which ther-
in ſhall counſayle you: but fynally,
if ye haue alway reſpecte vnto iuſtice,
and conſyder the cauſes with a pru-
dent and diligent ſcrutinie, the great
knowlage of the lawe ciuile ſhall not
muche trouble you. Laye therfore all
dread apart, and be not ſene for faint
neſſe of courage to forſake that, whi-
che the Emperour, Senate, and peo-
ple, lordes of the worlde, haue with
ſo great affection and iudgement pre-
pared for you. Take heede of your

health, & let vs shortly imbrace you.
¶ These letters were sente by poste, and in short tyme deliuered to Sertilius, than beyng at Athenes, in the house of Serteus Cheronensis, with other philosophers which he receiuing with reuerence opened and radde, and in the redyng of them partly stered with the louyng perswasions of the most noble emperour, partly oppressed with dolour, seeyng that he thought make no longer defence against his election, and that he must nedes entre the daungerouse rase of auctoritee, nigh full of perils, he let the salte teares tryll downe by his chekes. But whan they that were present vnderstode why that he shewed suche countenance, contrarywise they reioyced exceedyngly, as well at the wonderfull wysedome of the ponge emperour, as that the vertue and learnyng of Sertilius was in conclusion so wel considered, calling Rome a citee most blessed, that shoulde haue such a Prytor. And with one consent thei so prealed on Sertilius with inuincible argumentes, that he accorded to

retourne

retourne towarde Rome, and to re-
ceiue the sayde office. Not withstan-
dyng after that he had sitte a good
space without speakyng, he abraided
out at the last, and complayned hym
in this wyse.

¶ O what miserable astate shall I nowe come to? wherein diligence shall
be cause of displeasure, negligence of
reproche, sharpnesse shall be dread-
full, pitie vnthankefull, familiaritee
suspicious, frendship daungerous, e-
uery mans countenaunce pleasant, ma-
ny mens myndes offended, flatteryng
openly, disdeignyng secretly: against
my commyng attendance, in presence
muche courtesy: beyng out of office
or fauour, lacke of acquaintaince. But
of force I must obey that the empe-
rour commaundeth, & yet he commaun
deth not, but most gentilly allureth:
whereunto my frendes also consented,
and reason determineth. I therefore
committe all vnto god, who with his
prouidence all thyng disposeth. Burtorius.

¶ And so he departed, and in shorte
space arriued at Rome, where with
many noble senatours, & the chiefe of

the people he was gladly receiued. Many other wyse and learned men dyd this noble prince elect and moste gentilly inuite vnto the ministracion of the weale publike, by occasiō wher of oppression, extorcion, bribery, and other corrupcion of iustice, were out of the cite of Rome (during this emperours lyfe) vtterly exterminate.

¶ A notable question meued by Julius Paulus vnto the emperour Alexander. And the wyse answere which he therunto made. Cap. xxxvi.

YE haue heard before, what austerite and sharpnesse in punishement the emperour Alexander vsed towarde all theym, whiche by any maner corrupcion gaue vntrue sentences. Semblably against theues and oppressours of people he was no lasse rigorouse, punishynge theim sharpely and openly, without remission or hope of pardon: touchyng treason he dyd neuer alter or adde any thyng to the punishmentes, which

whiche were afore ordeigned: And in conspiracies against his owne person, he often times suspended his sentence, or deferred execution, as well to trie out the counsayles and practises of the offendours, as the fyrste occasion of theyr displeasures. Also whether theyr natures were obstinate or proude, aspyryng vnto supremitee: or if they were myld and easy, and seemed to be incended therto by the prouocacion of other. And diuers suche, some he pardoned, and with most gentill perswasions not onely reduced them to due obedience, but also bounde their hertes to hym in a perfect allegeaunce: some he caused for a time to sustaine imprisonment or exile, and as he founde them repentant, so dyd he relieue them. In theyr exyle it was punishemente of death, to geue to them any thing, but meate and drinke, and that but course and of small quantitee: also to be in theyr companie longer than they brought thē meate, or to speake with them, or to receiue letters of them: so that they lyued alone amonge people,

in a

in a prison inclosed, and in a common resorte in most painfull solitude. He had notwithstandyng in those places of exile some trustie persons, abydyng who marked in what fourme they sustained that punischemente, whether they were very repentaunt or sturdie: and accordyng to such mens intimacion, he caused the exile to bee shorter or longer. And here about he was very curious and diligent.

¶ On a time Julius Paulus, a noble counsaylour, meruailyng, that themperour was so pitifull toward them, which offended his person, beyng so rigorouse against all other transgressours, findyng the Emperour at leysure, sayd vnto hym in this wyse.

¶ Sir if it shal stand with your pleasure, I woulde be fayne satisfied in a thyng, whiche causeth me muche to wonder at you. Speake on (sayd the Emperour.) Sir saide Paulus, In al the time that I haue serued your maiestee, I haue considered, that your proper nature is mylde, facile, gentili, and wittie, and therwith adourned with incomparable pacience and

con-

constance. Wherefore whan I be-
holde you in publyke or ciuile mat-
ters alway so bente to the rigour of
Iustice, that ye wyll pardon none ex-
ecution, the offendour beeyng iustly
condemned: yet in transgressions a-
gainst your maiestee, be they neuer so
greuouse and lawfully proued, ye of-
tentymes dooe geue your most gracio-
ous pardon and sometyme vnasked.
And some haue I knowen, whiche
haue ben condemned for committyng
actes agaynste theyr allegeaunce, to
whom ye not only remitted your gra-
ces displeasure, but also receiued the
familiarelie, and enterteined theim
with greate liberalitee, as Oninius
Camillus, who by secrete meanes as-
pired to the imperiall maiestee, whan
he was therefore brought afore the
Senate all tremblynge, his conscience
disclosyng his trespace, ye geuyng
to hym thankes, that he wyllyngly
wouldc take on hym the charge of the
weale publyke, whiche other good
men refused, whan it was proffered,
and callyng hym copartener of the
empire, ledde hym from the Senate
vnto

vnto your palaice, and caused him to sitte with you at supper, in more cypcher apparaile than ye ware at that tyme: with muche other benevolence shewed vnto hym at your goyng out warres towarde Persia. This thyng maketh me and many other to mervaile. Wherfore the causes, whiche hereunto moueth you, I am moste desirouse to know, which by mine owne witte I can not determine. And many other, as well as I, be therwith perplexed. I therfore moste humbly beseeche your maiestee, that by your owne mouthe it may be resolued.

¶ The emperour after a little pause, therunto aunswered: Truely Paulus we be nothing offended with your demaunde, but are right well contented to declare vnto you, and other men of like wisedome, the reason and cause, that doeth mene vnto doe any thyng in our office imperiall, that therby we may exclude all ill suspicion, and applique our benevolence towarde the weale publike. Albeit if ye had seen as muche of Philosophie, as ye haue doone of the lawes ciuile, ye shoulde

not haue had nede to haue made this demaunde. But now to your question, ye muſt confeſſe Paulus, that in our perſone be two ſtates or condicions: one by nature common with other men: the other by election priuate and from the people excepted. In the fyrſt we be reſembled to beaſtes, for the affections and paſſions, wherin we communicate with them. In the other we be lyke vnto Gods immortall, in ſupreme dignitee excellyng all other men: which is to vs hapned, and not in generate, by the prerogatiue of vertue, whiche is ſuppoſed to be more excellent in vs: whiche vertue is none other thyng but diſpoſicion, and exterior acte of the myndc, agreable to reaſon, and the moderacion of nature. The ſupreme dignitee, that we haue receiued, is onely in gouernaunce of men, whiche dooe participate with vs in Nature, wherin they alway remaigne equall with vs: but by Reaſon they be made inferior vnto vs: For they ſuppoſing it to be more habundantly geuen vs, haue therefore wyllyngely ſubmitted them

Habit contemplatiuus practicus.

Supreme dignitee.

them selfe vnto our gouernance. And what that gouernaunce ought to be, our names of dignitee, whiche the people hath geuen vs, doo expresse it sufficiently. For they gaue vs fyrste the surnames of Cesar and Augustus,

Cesar. Augustus.

for remembraunce of the prowesse of the one, and the wisdome of the other whiche lyke as they despred, so they trusted to be aboundauntly in vs.

Imperator.

¶ They call vs also Emperour, whiche dignitee among the auncient Romains consisted in the principall gouernaunce of hostes and armies, not onely in leadyng them vnto warres

Dux.

(which was also thoffyce of a duke) but also to see them euer well exercised, keppnge alway and in euery place good order and Justice.

¶ Moreouer, the Senate and people haue geuē vs a name excellyng all other in honour and dignitee, callyng vs Father of theyr countrey. Maye there be imagined any name greatter or higher: For where ye haue wilfully lyberally to conferrate manye of our progenitours, and callyng them Gods, haue made them equall one to

Pater patrie.

an

an other. Onely Iupiter, whom Or- Iupiter.
pheus dooeth call life, you and your progenitours haue called father, as it were by a speciall prerogatiue aboue all other: whiche name is agreable vnto his propertee. For of life al things haue beeyng and meuyng, whiche acte of creacion, or (more naturally to speake it) generacō, is incidēt to the name of father, like as also his office is to preserue and kepe safe that whiche he him selfe hath ingendred. Consyderyng howe inestimable an office and dignitee are concluded in that diuine and most reuerende name of father, makyng me thereby the mortall Image of the liuyng God: howe circūspect ought I to be that I doe nothyng vnworthy that name so liberally geuen me? ye knowe well Paulus, that in mennes childzen be diuers and sundry dispolicions, some be apt of their nature to vertue and towardnesse, some haue not nature so prompt and beneuolēt: wherfore they must be by education therunto formed: some be quicke of witte, some dull in capacitee: of sharpe wittes, some most do re-

splen-

splendishe in actes that be honest, o-
ther seme quickest in malice & shrewd-
nesse. The good and diligent father
of eueriche of theim is equally care-
full, and assaieth fyrst by education
to make theim all conformable vnto
his appetite. And therfore at the first
with sweete meates and prattie giftes
he allureth theym all for to loue him,
& where they offende (as none, or els
very fewe are perfite in vertue,) cor-
recting them with a little sharpe rod,
he maketh theym also to feare hym.
And yf he beate a shrewde boy, it is
doone as well to put other in feare to
offende, as to make him amende. And
sometyme the father to restreigne the
prompte dispocicion that he seeth in
his children to vicious qualitees, do-
eth abdicate nowe and than one, that
is to say, putteth them out of his fa-
milie, and clerely excludeth theym
from any hope of inheritance. Some-
time perceiuing theyr shrewdenesse to
cease, if ani transgresseth against him
selfe onely, eyther he correcteth hym
moderately, or by a wyse and gentill
perswasion, assayeth to induce him to
know-

knowe well his duitie, and to plucke from hym opinion of a falſe libertee. Next vnto God, who is ſo great a father, as he which is father of a whole countrey? that is to ſaye, father of theym that be fathers, their children and familie? Howe muche than oughte the care of hym excede farre the cares of all other? the charitee of hym, the loue of all other? the wiſedome of hym, the prudence of other? The ſtudious father more careth how to bryng vp his chyldren in honeſtee, than howe to lyue pleaſauntly. The louynge father hath more ſolicitude about his childrens helth, then about his owne wealth. The wyſe father more cõſidereth what his ſonne ſhall be in the eſtimacion of other men, than how he may content his ſingular affection. I haue ſhewed to you the office of a priuate father. What wyll ye now ſay to me, that in office am the vniuerſall father of all the whole countrey: wyll ye ſaye, that I ſhould haue laſſe care, laſſe loue, or laſſe wiſdome and pollicie? I ſuppoſe no, I knowe therein your opinion ſufficiently

Office of a father.

ently. Than take good heede what I say. The rigour of Justice, whiche ye seeme to note in me, in punishyng offenders against the weale publike, is but a forme of discipline, conuenient and necessarie, hauynge regarde to suche children as I founde in this citee, corrupted with al kindes of vice, and hauing their myndes and wittes all disposed to follie, which being a generall detrimente, I haue vsed therein a more sharper remedie: and therefore consequently it hath been founde the more conuenient and speadye.

¶ In offences touching our only persone, we haue discended in our minde from the imperiall maiestee, and considered our fyrste astate left vs by nature, wherein lokyng as in a mirrour we beholde the same matter that other men be of, and therein the seedes of sundry affections, this causeth vs where we fynde hope of amendment, in lamentyng the miserie of mankind to be meued with a fatherlye pitie and muche lasse esteemyng the daungier of our person onely, than of the

whole countrey. We endeuour vs by mercie and gentilnesse to restore that vnkinde childe, whiche hath offended vs, ofsones to his brethrene and compaine. Notwithstandyng yf he be so malicious and arrogant, that he wyll not ceasse to abuse our pacience, we than refuse hym to be our child, and as an enmy vnto the weale publyke (for so be all that intende hostilitee against him, which is heade and father thereof) we committe him to the Senate and people for his malice and treason, to be iustly condemned. And thus doyng we accomplishe all the partes of a father: and kepyng the people in a moderate feare and good order, we execute the office of a good Emperour.

¶ Thus haue ye Paulus a iuste accompte of our ministracion, I wote not how it contenteth you, sure I am that mine owne conscience therin was neuer offended, nor the publike weale greued, nor any good manne thereby oppressed, wherof I haue the Senate and people my witnesse, and him onely my iudge, who keepyng in heauen,

sayleth not to punishe all theim that abuse his image.

¶ Herewith Julius Paulus semed to be satisfied, and moste humbly thankyng the emperour, and mernayling at his great wysedome and temperaunce, for that time departed.

¶ Of a great exclamacion made against a gentilmen called Marcus Geminus by his Libertines. And the oracion of Julius Moderatus, made in the Senate. Capi. xxxviii.

LIkewise as this emperour Alexander was rigorouse and terrible to corrupt iudges and oppressours of Justice, so was he moste fauourable and bounteouse vnto all suche as were sincere in theyr ministracions and supportars of equitee. On a time as he went towarde the Senate, there came against hym a great numbre of persons, homely apparayled and of a rude presence, whiche as the Emperour approched theim, fell downe on theyr knees, and in a moste lamentable forme with one confuse crie accused a gentilman called Marcus Geminus of oppression, & to bring him

him more into displeasure and enuie, they added to theyr complaynt, that he was one of theim that conspyred with Oninius Camillus. The emperour heard them, & diligently marked their gesture and countenaunce, wherin he perceiued to be more rancoure than dolour, more sturdinesse, than humble shamefastenesse, more obstinate cruelnes, than reason or honestie: He than asked of theim, what people they were. They aunswered, sayinge: that they were husband men of Campania. He commaunded them to withdrawe them vntyl they were sent for, and shewyng to them a right gentill vysage, he passed from them.

¶ The people receiuyng a more arrogant courage, of the cõfortable countenaunce, whiche it seemed that the Emperour made to theim at their departyng, leauing for the whyle their counterfaite sorowes, they spent the dayes in tauernes and bitayling houses, the nyghtes in places of bawdry, promising vnto them selues victorie, against Geminus, adding therto with moste despitefull arrogance, that his

tourmentes and deathe shoulde be a dreadfull exaumple to gentillmenne: and that from thensefoorthe theyr ploughmen and tenauntes shoulde be felowe lyke with theim. Whiche menaces and bostynges were sone after reported vnto the Emperour: But lyke as sone as he was come to the Senate, he shewed there all that was hapned, and than he demaunded the Senatours, yf any of theim knewe Marcus Geminus. Dyuers of theim aunswered in order, that they knewe hym well, and that he had been alwaye reputed a man of muche honestie, and hauyng a competent lyuinge for his degree, had euer liued therewith temperately, without note of reproche vnto this tyme. Herewith as the emperour sate meruailynge at the furie of the sayde clamorous people, and the cõmendacion giuen to Marcus Geminus, an ancient senatour, named Junius Moderatus, who was reputed to be a man of great worshyp, and was of the age of one hundred yeres, or there about, did stande vpon his feete, and sayd in this wyse.

The oracle on of Iunius Moderatus.

¶ Moste noble Emperour, all be it that I am not requyred, nor do now intende to take on me the defence of Marcus Geminus, with whō I haue no maner acquaintaunce, yet to the entent that your moſt gentill and pitifull hert, tempred with iuſtice, ſhould be no longer perplexed, as it appeareth to be by your countenaunce, I wyll by remembrynge your maieſtee of the generall ſtate and condicion of theim, whiche haue complayned on Marcus Geminus, in ſome parte (I truſte) reſolue the importaunce of your admiracion and ſtudie.

¶ ye do well perceiue, that the complayners be all of Campania, a countrey moſte plenteous of all thyng that the earth may bryng fooꝛth, and ther with ſo fertile, that it dooeth not require greate toyle oꝛ labour, but onely good diligence in obſeruynge the oꝛportunitee of tyme in ſowynge and plantyng, with the preſeruacion of the thynges whiles they be growing. With this fertilitee, the bodyes doe become fat and luſtie, and therby are made il diſpoſed to labour, the which

 di-

disposicion the goodnesse of the soile alway suppoꝛteth: thereof pꝛocedeth obstinate sturdinesse against theyꝛ superiours, and often tymes commocions and sodaine rebellions: and with great difficultee hath the people bee bꝛoughte vnto a perfecte obedience, which was after that they had rebelled against the Romaines, being confederate with Hanniball and the Carthaginenses. At the which tyme they beyng vanquished by Fuluius, many were slayne, the multitude were solde in bondage vnto the Romaines, among whom the fieldes and possessions were at that tyme deuyded, it dured a longe tyme, that the Romaines beeyng good husbandes theim selfes, ouerseeyng theyꝛ tyllage and husbandry, keepyng the Campanes in seruitude, bourdainyng them with continuall labours, feedyng and clothyng theim moderately, and moꝛe nerer to scarsitee than superfluitee, leauynge theim no moꝛe vacacion from labour than the festiuall dayes, whiche the lawes haue appointed: the countrey abode in continual quietnesse, and iu-

stice

tice was there sufficiently ministred, by one onely magistrate sente vnto theym yerely out of this citee. There dwelled Saserna, Tremilius, Julius Atticus, & diuers other gentilmen, as well in husbandrie, as in other wisedome and pollicie noble and famouse, without exclamacions vnto the Senate. Moreouer the gentilmē brought vp in that countrey, for theyr temperance in lyuyng, and prudent gouernyng of theyr owne familie, were oftentimes elect into the Senate, and esteemed alwaye for the best Senatours. But after the subuercion of Carthage, and that al Greece and Asia were in our iurisdiction, Spayne made tributarie, and Gallia brought vnto subiection, Idelnesse with delicate appetite entred together into this citee, and so muche abounded, that it was from thense distributed into all the whole region of Italie. And than the gentilmen of Campania lefte theyr auncient frugalitee and diligent gouernaunce, and dyd sette all theyr studie onely about thynges pleasaunt and delectable, not beyng

contented with the commodities of the same countrey, ne with the same measure and quantitee, whiche they before vsed: but with outragious expenses, sendyng into other countreis farre of, for other kynde of thynges, whiche they had not growyng, they vnsacyably fedde therewith theym selues and theyr seruauntes, and contemnyng the exercise of husbandrie, they negligently haue suffred theyr seruauntes to be oppressed with gourmandise, and to reiecte theyr accustomed fare, and to haue it more delicate. Also to encrease sleepe and pastime, and to minishe theyr labours and diligence. Moreouer by priuate contentions amonge the same gentilmen (which alway happeneth where temperaunce lacketh) by ambicion and enuie they that were bondemen, were infranchysed and made libertines, to the intent that their lordes woulde be seene puissaunt of men, to mainteine theyr quarrels: Whereby it is happened, that the progenie of the saide bondemen are now of suche sturdynesse, that they disdeigne and

Libertines were of like condicions, as our copiholders were of old time.

take scorne to be corrected, ne wyll o-
therwise laboure than it shall lyke
theim. And if theyr lorde wyll sharpe-
ly call on theim, they wyll not lette,
boldly to make resistence: And where
they be not therto sufficient, they wil
suborne some false quarrell to make
a commocion, trustynge thereby to
robbe and destroye theyr lordes: or if
they can not bringe that to passe, at
the least they wyll make iniuste excla-
macions, where they fynde a prynce,
whom they suppose to haue his eares
open to tales and reportes, and wyll
condemne in his opinion men com-
playned on, before perchaunce that he
knoweth theim. Hereof haue we to
many examples, as well in the tyme
of Tiberius Nero, and Domitiane, as
in the tyme of my remembrance. Were
not Dulius Sillanus, & Antius Lu-
pus, mē of great honestee, condēned to
death by the Emperour Commodus,
vpon the false complaintes of theyr
libertines: whiche grutched against
them, because that Sillanus was a
sterne man, & of the ancient severitee.
Wherfore they mought not sustayne
him

him, punishyng them continually for theyr ydell and riottous lyuing: Lupus, because he woulde not suffer his libertines to incroche vppon his possessions, and to retayne certayne porcions of lande, which after the death of Pertilius Rufus his mothers vncle (whose heire Lupus was) they hadde taken by stelthe, whyles he was in Asia, wherfore they apeached him vnto the emperour, saying that he was of familiar counsayle with Caius Regilius, whom a little before, Commodus had put vnto death. Petronius, in the time of Caracalla the emperour was also put to death by a lyke occasion. And to speake of mine owne experience, by the space of. xl. yeres, so longe I continued in keppnge of husbandry in the countrey of Vmbria, hauing therin much delectacion, I founde the rusticall people my neyghbours prompte to iniuries, murmurynge at Iustice, grutchynge at labours, desirouse of pleasures, ingrate against benefites. At the fyrst I was with theym familiar and homely, than founde I theim alway carlyke

and

and sturdy. Than against mine owne nature I chaunged my copie, and became towarde theym more straunge in countenaunce, more rare in speakyng, more selde in pardonyng, more quicke in reuengeyng, suche iniuries as they wyllyngly dyd me. Moreouer I was more frequente in commaundynge my libertines, and wolde my selfe see theim to doe truely theyr seruices, nothyng omyttyng: than had I a little and seldome any occasion to be offended with. There was none iniuries offred me of my neighbours, which beholdyng me so sharpe to my libertines, and so rygorouse in iustice, feared to displease me. My lybertines forgettyng all pleasures, studyed with labour and diligence to get some prayse of me. Than considered I well that good dertours oftentymes spared, become yll payers; small iniuries oftentimes pardoned, maketh of neyghboures perniciouse enemies. A seruant made malaperte, to yll kicke at his duitie, and laboure by custome becommeth easie: Behold de, the gentill maisters

I master to seruantes.

have

haue alway proude seruauntes: And of a maister sturdie, and fierce, a lyttell wynke to his seruaunt is a fearefull commaundement. The nature of libertines is muche contrarious to that whiche is gentill. The gentilman, gentilly intreated, is content to doe all thyng: The vile nature, familiarly vsed, grudgeth at euery thyng. This is euery daye proued, but no wytte can make streyght that which nature made croked. Geminus is a gentilman of an olde house of the Latines, whose great graundefather Rubellius Geminus was cõsul in the late dayes of the emperour Tiberius. He hath his possessions in Campania (as I haue herd say) by an auncetour of his mother called Põponius Sura, Perchaunce his nouelrie there maye be disdeigned, and the moueable people lackyng somwhat of their willes, may be comforted by some of equall degree vnto Geminus, by theyr exclamations to bryuge hym out of credence, and consequently vnto some ieoperdie. Wherefore seruetly the Pretor Triphonius, who is knowen

Seruaunte.

to be

to be a man very discrete, well learned, and of a great iudgement: if they came to hym, why dyd he not heare them? If he woulde not heare them, why complaine they not of him? If he did here them, why is Geminus lefte styll vnpunished? If he be punished, why is he eftesones accused? Myne aduise is (most noble Emperour) that Marcus Geminus be hastily sent for, that he haue no leasure to solicite the Pretor Triphonius: and that immediately afterwarde a letter bee directed to the same Pretor, willyng hym to aduertise your maiestee with all expedicion, what may be proued in the ratification of suche articles as benne obiected in the accusacion of Geminus; whiche proues beyng sent vp vnto vs, if Geminus can not refell them, than let the lawes of the citee procede against hym. If the suggestion be found false and malicious, than shall your maiestee do lyke a vertuous gouernour, and father of the countrey, if by your excellēt wisedome and rule of iustice ye prouyde, that the false accusers, & their abbet-

tour may be so punished, that they and other persons of like inclinacion, may be afeard to abuse your clemencie and most gentyll nature. And now hath your maiestee heard all myne opinion.

¶ This sentence contented the emperour, who therfore commended the substanciall wisdome and compendious eloquence of the old Moderatus. And according therunto was Geminus sent for by an officer, and sone after a letter was sent to Triphonius, according to the minute before rehersed: which was deliuered to the Prefor incontinent vpon the departinge of Geminus.

¶ The wonderfull prudence and equitee shewed by Alexander the emperour, in the determinacion & sentence in the matter proceding. Ca. xxxix.

AT the comming of Geminus to Rome, he was forthwith committed vnto Catelius the Senatour to be secretly kept, with comfort geuen vnto him, that if suche thynges

as he was accused of, coulde not bee proued by witnesse or matter sufficient, his accusacion shoulde bee to him an happy displeasure.

¶ In the meane time Triphonius the Pretor, when he had radde the emperours letters, fearynge his rigorous iustice to rulers and iudges corrupted or negligent, he forthwith sent vnto the moste honeste inhabitauntes, not beeyng gentilmen, whiche dwelled in townes and villages next adioyning to the habitacion of Geminus: whom not beyng yet ware of the departyng of Geminus, nor for what cause they were sent for, the Pretor callyng vnto hym one of theim after another, seuerally examined theim, what they knew or supposed of Marcus Geminus, in what cõdicio he vsed him self: first concernyng his faith to themperour, senate, and people of Rome: also in Iustice and equitee touchyng his neighbours: moreouer frugalitee and temperaunce in his owne familie: finally in oppression and crueltee to his tenauntes and libertines. Addyng therunto, that the Emperours

maiestee was informed, that Geminus in all the saide poinctes was greuously noted, whiche beynge sufficiently proued against hym, his punishement should be to all other men a dreadfull exaumple, wherby poore men shoulde afterwarde liue in the more suretee, and out of the daunger of cruell affections. Euery one that was examined apart, freely without alteracion of wordes affirmed, that Geminus was a man of great honestee, & that they did neuer suspect his faith of allegiance, although he repaired sometime to Oninius, whan he soiourned nigh to him, which he seemed rather to doe for the honouring of Oninius dignitee, than for any speciall affection that he had towarde hym, considering that they were moste vnlyke of condicions. For Oninius was proud, ambicious, and prodigall: Geminus was gentill, moderate in lyuing, and temperate in spendyng. The other was almost ignoraunt of letters, delityng in riotte and lecherie: this man well learned, and hauyng his principall pleasure in readyng or wryting.

So

So diuerse condicions coulde neuer ioygne hertes in a feruente affection. Moreouer they coulde neuer perceiue, that Geminus at any time preised Dominus, otherwise than is the general preise geuen to men in auctoritee, callyng hym honourable.

¶ Concerning iustice and equitee, they saide that therin he was euer founde notablie euell, in so muche as by keppng his promise and touche, he susteined oftentimes no little detrimēt. ¶ Also he remitted oftentimes a good parte of his duitie, whiche the lawes gaue hym: sometime of gentilnesse, somtime moued with the persons necessitee. The measurable fare and good order of his familie, was to all his neighbours an excellent paterne. To his tenantes and libertines at his first commynge he was of muche affabilitee, but after he perceiued by the auncient tables and monumentes belongynge vnto his patrimonie, that his libertines hadde withdrawen some part of theyr seruices, and craftily enterlaced his dominical landes with their seruile possessions, he

first allayed to perswade theim to restore vnto him his enheritaunce, offeryng to remitte vnto thē their wrong full intrusions, with all the profites, whiche they had thereof receiued, if they would willyngly departe frome that, whiche by iustice they moughte not kepe from him: but they little regardyng his honest requeste, obstinately denyed to leaue the possession of those landes, which they had so long occupied: and became in all theyr actes towarde him sturdy and malapert wherwith beyng displeasauntly moued, he with his household seruantes and frendes expelled theim from the possession of suche landes as they wrongfully occupied: wherwith they beeyng exasperate, and desirous to be reuenged (supposing that if they complained to the Pretor, the truth shortly appering vnto him, they should nothyng preuaile, but be for euer excluded frō their vniuste occupacion) they conspiryng together went vnto twoo gentilmen dwellyng hereby, the one called Duillius, the other Cotta, who alwai had enuie at Marcus Geminus

and

and mought not sustein his commen-
dacion, but used to speake reproch-
fully of him. Whan they had heard
what the libertines purposed, they ex
cedingly reioyced therat, and gaue to
theim not only comforte in their pro-
cedynges, but also summes of money
towarde theyr charges, with secrete
letters vnto theyr frendes and ac-
quaintaunce in the citee of Rome, de-
siring theim to assist and solicite the
cause of the libertines.

¶ They sayd moreouer, that there re-
mained yet in the towne of Geminus,
as well libertines as men free of con-
dicion, his tenauntes, whiche beyng
of a more honest nature, and persua-
ded at the first with the vnreasonable
request of theyr lorde, woulde by no
meanes consent vnto the conspiracie,
notwithstanding that they were ther-
vnto preased, as well by the said gen-
tilmen as by the libertines. Whiche
persons they thought expedient to be
also examined. That herying the pre-
tor, cõmendyng theyr truthe and mo-
destee, he depeached those deponentes
for that time, commaundyng them to

kepe all thyng secrete: and immediatly he sent for the saide residue of the tenauntes and libertines of Marcus Geminus: Who beyng likewise examined in all and euery thyng agreed with the first witnesses.

¶ Than Triphonius incontinent caused horses to be prouided, and those persons without any lenger abode, to be conueighed to Rome with his letters vnto the Emperour, conteignyng the true reporte of the saide examinations: whiche letters the Emperour reading him selfe, commaunded that those men, whiche were come to the citee, should be forthwith brought to his presence, in most secrete wise, whiche was performed.

¶ Than themperour callyng to hym Vlpianus, Catelius, Paulus, & Sabinus, who at that time were in the palaice, he commaunded the saide persones to be brought forth, and hym selfe demaundyng lyke questions of theim, as Triphonius had doone, but in an other order and facion, he foūde their woordes in euery condition like as they had deposed, sauing that thei

therunto added, that the cõplainers before their departing, and after that they were come frõ Duillius and Cotta, had importunately desired these men to goe with theim, sayinge: that they nothyng doubted, but that Geminus at the least should lose his head and that they for their trauels should haue his goodes, or a good part therof deuided among thẽ: and that Duillius and Cotta trusted to haue his landes by gifte or by purchase. That hering the emperour: with visage inflamed, & eyes sparkeling as fire, braste out in these woordes folowyng.

O villain nature bestiall and monstruouse. O cruell enuie foule and malicious, the one neuer vanquished with gentilnesse, the other neuer contented with vertue and sobrenesse. Howe often haue wyse men been by suche falshode deluded, Emperours, kynges, and other Potentates by suche serpentes abused, iustice oppressed, mercie sklaundered, good people destroyed, false harlottes aduaunced? Godde forbydde that I should liue emperour of Rome, if I would not see

this enormitee punished, whereby all
Order. publyke weales may be shortely subuerted. For where order fayleth, obedience decayeth, boldnesse increaseth, deceit escapeth, iniury preuaileth, auarice corrupteth, the state of a weale publyke sone after perisheth. Whan he had sayde thus: he commendyng the truth and sinceritee of them, whiche had spoke, commanded that they shoulde remaine still in his palaice in a place secret, vntill it were his pleasure for to call for theim. Than caused he to be published throughout the citee, that Marcus Geminus was likely shortely to be condemned. Whiche beyng comen to the eares of his accusers, they replenished with ioye, romed about the citee, imbracing their frendes and confederates, with mutuall congratulacions, makyng banketes one to an other, for exceding ioye forgettyng to slepe, but passed foorth the nyghtes in dryuking and singing, and deuisyng tourmentes for Marcus Geminus. Of all this herde the emperour, who dissembled his angre, albeit he had no lesse solicitude,

in prouidyng the meanes howe theyr mischiefe and falshode mought be in suche wyse corrected, as good men mought be free from suche perilles, and the exaumple mought vtterlye drowne the malyce of wretches.

As soone as Duillius and Cotta, had heard of the brute of the condemnacion of Geminus, with all spede they bothe came vnto Rome, bryngynge with theim greate presentes to geue vnto suche as were nyghe about the emperour, to the intent that they by theyr meanes mought attayne to the possessions of Geminus. But these noble men, vnto whom they offered to geue the sayde presentes, refused to take theim, fearynge the emperours seuerite. As soone as the emperour had heard of the commynge of Duillius and Cotta, he sente for them, and in the presence of dyuers Senatours, after he had taken theim by the handes, with a familiar countenaunce, he dissembled to theym, that he was muche greued with the vnkyndenesse of Geminus, towarde his persone, and also his oppressions

and

and iniuries towarde his libertines and tenantes. With that Duillius & Cotta beeynge muche comforted toward their purpose, to aggrauate the complaintes againste Geminus, and semyng to doe well, dispraised the rigorous tyrannie of Geminus, and commended the simplicitee of his libertines, saying, that they would not so sone haue complained on Geminus, if they had not ben by them vehemently stirred and prouoked therto.

¶ After that the emperour had ben a whyle in a studie, as it were to saye some thynge against Geminus, at the laste with a familiar vysage, he saide vnto them: ye haue knowen, in how muche detestacion I haue alway had the oppression of innocentes, the iniuries dooen with extreme malyce and violence: And yet notwithstandynge the sharpe corrections, whiche haue been executed agaynste suche malefactours, as well by auncient lawes of this citee as by our owne decrees and ordinaunces, yet as it seemeth, that pestilence in the weale publyke ceaseth not. Wherefore we nowe

woulde, that some newe and straunge correction were deuised for Geminus whiche should be suche as to all men of euery degree, mought be the moste fearefull example to offende in lyke condicion. And as touchynge the offence towarde me, I shall holde me content with the iudgement, whiche the lawes haue prouyded. And more ouer to the intent that men shall perceiue, howe muche we fauoure theim that dooe suppoꝛt trewe men againste tyrannes, I woilde that some reward were also deuysed for suche suppoꝛters, equall and conuenient vnto their merites. And hearein wyll we fyrste here your sentences, for as muche as ye dooe seeme to be men of zeale. And are repoꝛted to be wise men and politike about your affaires. Wherefoꝛe we entende to haue of you better acquaintaunce, that the publyke weale by you may be amended. These woꝛdes of the emperour Duillius and Cotta toke to be al for their benefite, and thinkyng that thei had good opoꝛtunitee offred theim to acheue theyr desire, thinkyng that the moꝛe sharpe and vehement punishement they dyd

deuise for Marcus Geminus, the better it shoulde content the mynd of the emperour.

¶ First Duillius, forgetting him self with face all inflamed with malice, declared his sentence in this wyse.

¶ Forasmuche as the emperour had referred the offence committed against his maiestee, to the iudgemente of the lawes ciuile, (albeit that such punishemente were insufficiente for such a traitour as Geminus was) concerning his oppression of innocentes, his correction moughte bee no lasse, than that he beyng all naked, should by his libertines be fyrst of all whypped throughout the citee of Rome, with whippes full of Ruelles, called Scorpious, and afterwarde his nose and eares beyng cutte of, so with reproches to be conueyghed vnto the towne of his habitacion, and there to be eftsones whypped by all his libertines: and from thens to be caried into the Iles called Nebrides, and neuer to retourne into Italie. His childerne also to be banished for euer out of that territory: Restitucion also to

be

be made to the libertines of all that whiche was bereft theim. As concernyng the residue, they whiche were accusers of traitours and suppoꝛters of the same accusers, should haue deuyded amonge theim, the one halfe deale of their goodes and possessions: so that the one halfe thereof shoulde be to the accusers, the other halfe to the suppoꝛters of theym, the other halfe deale of the whole shulde be confiscate to the emperours treasure.

Cotta agreed in euery thing with Duillius, sauing the deformyng of Geminus, and banishment of his childꝛen, saying, that therin was to great a visage of cruelte. In the disposicion of the goodes and possessions, he added vnto the sentence of Duillius, that if the accuser oꝛ suppoꝛter were a bondman oꝛ libertine, he shoulde haue no part of the possessions, but onely the fourth part of the moueables: in the residue he agreed with Duillius.

¶ Whan they had spoken, the emperour and other that were with hym, seemed to cõmend their zelous affection: and the emperour finding occa-

sion

tion by the lacke of time, and that his supper, abode than for hym, dyd depart from them, saying that he wold aduyse hym on theyr wise counsailes, and licenced theim to departe with a familiar becke. Who beeyng retourned to theyr lodgeynges, and sending for the libertines and other of theyr acquaintance: after that they had declared what they had spoke, and how nigh the cõfusion of Eminus did approche, and what trust they had to enioy his goodes and possessions: there was made amonge theim ioye without measure, with reuell and banketynge, so that the report thereof came to the eares of the emperoure, and of all the Senate, whiche remained in a great expectacion of the emperours iudgement.

¶ Afterwarde the Emperour commaunded his place of astate to be made ready in the Theatree of Pompei, that the people of Rome shoulde be sommoned to be ready there the thyrde daye folowyng: whiche was accõplished. And themperour beeynge set with his noble counsaylours with

hym

him, he commanded, that as wel the libertines, as Duillius & Cotta shulde prepare them to the accusacion of Geminus, who came into the place, bringing with them one Rutilius Lupus, a subtill Rhethorician, to be their advocate. But Geminus onely trustynge on his owne conscience, refused to haue any other patrone, than the true examinacion and iustice of the Emperour and other whiche were his iudges. And the emperour was therwith right well contented, cõsydering that the time of the controuersie should be made therby the shorter.

¶ First Lupus began his oracio with a great preise of the Emperours vertues, whiche the emperour in no wise sufferynge, but beyng therwith offended, interpelled Lupus, and commanded hym to enter into his narracion, and to declare immediately the state of the matter conteigned in the complaynte of the Libertines. Than Lupus beeyng partely abasshed, for as muche as his beginnynge was to make the emperour and hearers benevolent towarde the libertines, and to

make

make the cause against Geminus to seeme more greuous, he coldly entred into the matter, and generally obiected against Marcus Geminus his familiar resort vnto Oninius Camillus before that he was detected of treason. And therunto brought in for witnesses Duillius and Cotta, whom he called men of great worship: Geminus speakyng yet nothyng, nor chaungeyng his countenaunce: Duillius and Cotta, by to muche malice and couetise, forgetteyng them selfes, preased forth and said, that they had oftentimes seen Geminus, not only at supper with Oninius in the tyme of his conspiracie, but also talkynge familiarely and secretely with hym.

¶ Therwith the Emperour takynge occasion, demaunded of theim, what it was that Geminus spake to Oninius. They said, they wist not, for they stode farre from theim, and mought not here theim. The Emperour demaunded, if they dyd see whan Geminus came and departed. They aunswered, that for the more parte they came before hym, and abode longe af-

ter

ter him. He asked moreouer, in what fourme Geminus departed from Onimius. They sayde, for the more part with no pleasaunt countenance of the one or the other. The emperour asked, if Geminus were desired by Onimius to come: or if he came to him vnsent for. They sayde, they coulde not remember, but that Onimius sent alway a seruaunt for Geminus. The Emperour demaunded, if he did likewise with them. They aunswered, no. The Emperour immediately sent for Onimius, who being reconsiled to the Emperour, was than in the Senate, and for Carnilius his seruaunte, who had detected his treason: and in the meane time themperour tourned him vnto Geminus & said, that if he were the manne that he shewed to bee, he woulde lasse esteeme death than the losse of his credence, and that for his parte he more esteemed the confession of trueth, than the auengeyng of his displeasure.

¶ Wherefore he charged hym vppon the sayethe of an honest manne, to tell plainely, whereof was the commu-

nicacion betwene hym and Oninius, Geminus aunswered, that the first accesse that he had to him was voluntarie and vnsente for, onely to salute him, because he was a Senatour, and in great estimacion, not knowyng any thyng of his traiterous affection: But perceiuinge his qualitees, and naturall appetites not to be agreable to his opinion and studie, he ceassed to come, vntill he was desired of Oninius: whiche as he after perceyued, was for his incommoditie. For Oninius desyred of hym a mancion place, whiche he had ioygnynge to the gardeins of Nero: frome the whiche he would in no wise depart. Al be it often and sundry times Oninius sēt for him, and as well by offryng greate sommes of money and frendshyp, as sometyme by menaces, he assaied to get of him the house, but laste of all he threetned him, that hauing al thing at commaundemente, as he doubted not but that he shoulde see it come to passe shortly, he would leaue him neyther house nor life.

¶ With the whiche woordes Geminus

nus sayde, that he was astonyed, and so departed with his displeasure. But yet not thynkynge, that Ominius intended any conspiracie, cosyderynge that he was alied vnto the Emperour, and was by hym aduaunced vnto great richesse.

¶ Thus ceassed Geminus to speake any more. And by that tyme Carnilius was comen, who beeynge demaunded, what acquaintaunce he hadde knowen to bee betwene Ominius and Marcus Geminus: he aunswered, that he knewe none acquaintaunce betwene theim, but that oftentimes he had heard Ominius his maister say to his secrete frendes, after that he hadde a longe tyme talked with Geminus, that he was a sturdie and obstinate persone, and woulde not conformme hym to his requestes, concernynge a house, whiche he had nyghe to the citee, wherefore yf he moughe brynge his purposes to passe he wold leaue hym neyther house nor heade on his shoulders.

The Emperour demaunded, if Geminus were any of theym that Ominius

counsayled with concernyng his conspiracie. Therat smiled Carnilius and saide, that Oninius euer had hym in so muche reputacion: for he neuer estemed hym to bee moste vnapte to any suche practise.

¶Than came in Oninius, and the emperour commaunding him, sat downe by hym. And themperour asked hym, if he knew Marcus Geminus. And he fearyng, that he had complayned of him, blusshed, and said, that he could neuer find kindnesse in him, and that his nature was ouerthwarte and alway against his desires. Wherefore he desyred the Emperour not to geue to muche credence vnto hym in suche thinges as he complayned of hym, other than touchynge the request made for his house in the citee, whiche he confessed to haue desired importunately, and for that cause onely had often times conuented him whan he repayred into that countrey. The Emperour with that aunswere was well contented, and demaunded, if he had any better opinion of Duillius & Cotta. He saide, that they were of an o-

ther sorte, and more conformable vn-
to his appetite. Thereat the Empe-
rour laughed in his herte (as he af-
ter declared vnto his familiers) mar-
king the folly alwell of Duillius and
Cotta, as of Oninius Camillus, which
vnawares had disclosed their secrete
affections, and declared the innocen-
cie of Marcus Geminus. And licen-
cing Oninius to retourne to the Se-
nate, he commaunded Lupus to re-
sorte to the residue of the accusacion
of Geminus: who partely beyng dis-
couraged, with a weake eloquence
alleged the iniurie and cruell oppres-
sion of Geminus, extended vnto his
tenauntes, takyng from theim theyr
auncient possessions, and annexing
them to his dominicall landes.

¶ Therewith Geminus beyng some-
what meued, plainely denyed, that it
was theyr auncient possessions, but
affyrmed that it were his proper do-
minicall landes, whiche betwene the
deathe of his vnkle and his entrie,
they had vniustly vsurped and false-
ly conceled.

¶ Wherefore not onely he by the

 lawe

lawe mought iustely expulse theym from that, which they vnlefully occupied, but also by theyr ingratitude they had forfayted theyr manumissions, and consequently the landes geuen to them by his auncesters of good right ought to resorte efsones to his possessios. This heringe themperour, he demaunded of the complainantes, of what state and condition thei were? They all confessed to bee the libertines of Marcus Geminus, and that suche landes as they had, were seruile, as for the whiche they were bounden to certaine obseruaunces. But they playnely denyed, that they had forfayted any thyng, and with great exclamacions, and out of order cryed out on Geminus.

¶ Than commaunded the emperour, that the gentelmen and residue of the libertines and tenauntes, sent by Triphonius, should be brought in, who beyng in likewise examined, declared openly the stealing of Geminus dominicall landes, by the saide libertines, whyche were accusers, the conuiracion of theim to the destruction of Geminus,

minur, their priuie solicitacion of o-ther, the malicious suppostynge of Duillius and Cotta, with their secrete conferacies, and all other thynges as before they had shewed to the Em-perour at home in his palaice: whiche as well the accusers as Duillius and Cotta, heryng disclosed contrarie to their expectacions, they all were con-founded, and in their amased counte-naunce sodeine and scilence, semed to the emperour, and all that were pre-sent, to confesse their untruth and ma lice. And therwith Cotta, fearing the emperours Seuerite: fel on his knees and besought the emperour to pardon him, and likewise desired Geminus to forgeue him his malice, confessyng all to be true, which was now spoken on his behalf. Herwith themperour was feruently stirred with displeasure to-warde the accusers: after that he hadde spoken with the residue of the iudges, he gaue sentēce in this wise.

¶ For as much as it appeareth unto vs, that thou Marcus Geminus art innocente of that treason, whiche thy cruel libertines, with the suppos-

tacion of Duillius & Cotta haue falsly accused the of, we declare the to be a true gentilman, loyall to the weale publike and maiestee imperiall: and denounce vnto all men, that none bee so hardie to renewe this suspicyon, wherof thou art purged: And for thy pacience, wisedome, and temperance we deeme the worthy to bee admitted into the colledge of Senatours.

¶ Than the emperour tournynge hym to the libertines, said: ye villaine generacion, full of pestiferous malyce, rude and moofte beastiall of nature, voyde of all courtesie, false and deceiptefull towarde your soueraigne, cruell and vengeable against Justyce and reason: For as muche as ye, with all your wyll and puissaunce haue indeuored your selfes by your false accusacion, not only to haue brought to a shamefull death Marcus Geminus your naturall lorde, a true and innocent gentilman, and a necessary membre of the weale publyke, which if it had hapned, therof shulde haue succeded vnto the weale publike, notable damage, and to our person perpetuall

reproche and burden vnto our conscience: We therfore iudge you all worthy no lesse to suffer thā Duillius one of your capitaines gaue in his sentence at home in our palaice agaynste Marcus Geminus. That first ye shall be whypped throughout the citee with Scorpions, and than your noses and eares to be cutte of, and so to be brought into Campania, and there to be eftsones whypped in euery towne, and last of al, to be hanged in chaines on high gibettes, as ye be. xvi. in number, in. xvi. of the greatest townes of that countrey, and that your children shall lose the priuilege of the manumission of you and your auncestours: and that none of your bloude be from henceforth manumysed by any Consull or Pretor.

¶ Moreouer your possessions wholly to remayne to Marcus Geminus, your moueables by the consent of Geminus, (whereunto we exhort hym) to be equally deuyded and geuen to his other tenantes and libertines, whiche refused to be consentyng or partie to your procedinges.

¶ Then loked he on Quillius & Cotta, & fyrst sayd to Quillius. Thou detestable serpente of villaine progenie, which nature in thee neyther mought bee subdued with auctorite, nor altered with rycheſſe, for as muche as by enuie onely thou haſte maligned a gainſte Marcus Geminus, and with all thy power haſte ſupported his libertines, to accuſe hym moſt falſely of treaſon: And moreouer thy ſelfe haſt in ſuche wyſe appeched him, that in thine owne woordes it appeareth, that thou were of a more familiar reſort vnto Quintius thā Geminus was and by Quintius confeſſion more conformable vnto his appetite And what is declared by thoſe wordes, but thou and Cotta were conſenting vnto the conſpiracie? Thou ſhalte therefore receiue thyne owne iudgement, whiche thou wouldeſte haue geuen on Marcus Geminus, that is to ſaye, thou ſhaulte be diſgraded of all honour, and deſpoiled of thy garmentes in the middeſt of this citee: And from thenſe whipped with Scorpions vnto the higy way called Via Appia.

And

And from thense thou shalte be caried vnto Tarentum, and being there eftsones whipped, thou shalt be rendred with thy chyldren in seruitude to Marcus Geminus. And all thy possessions to remayne for euer to hym and his heyres.

And as to thee Cotta, although thou hast desyred pardone, yet for asmuch as thou hast polluted the noble and auncient bloudde, whereof thou camest, imbracyng vyllaine condicions, and chosynge rather to bee confederate with vyllaynes and malicious wyrches, than to fauour vertue and Justice, it were not expedient that thou shouldeste be so pardoned, that thou shouldeste clerely escape without punishemente, specially consyderynge, that thy nobilitee was a cause that Geminus was muche more suspected, than if thou hadst not ioygned thy selfe with his libertines.

Thou shalt therfore sustayne parte of thine owne iudgemente, whiche thou woldest haue geuen on Geminus, that is to saye, thou shalt foorthwith lose all thy mouables, whiche also with

the

the goodes of Duillius shalbe equally parted, the one halfe to be brought into the common treasurie, the other halfe to be geuen indifferently among those gentilmen, whiche honestely haue declared vnto vs the innocencie of Marcus Geminus. And as for thy landes, duryng thy lyfe to be confiscate, afterwarde to retourne to thine heyres. Moreouer that thou thy selfe shalte neuer retourne into Campania, but remayne styll here in this citee, excepte we vppon other considerations hereafter mouyng vs, shall clerely pardon thee.

¶ This was the ende of the Emperours sentence. Wherewith all the people reioyced, and cryed with one voice: Happye is Rome that hath suche a gouernoure, happie is the worlde, that it hath suche an emperour, but moste happy are we that haue suche a father. Lyue noble Alexander, for the goddes doo fauour thee, all pyinces doe honour thee, all yll men doe dreade thee, all good men loue thee. Liue and prosper most excellent emperour.

With

¶ With these and other most ioyouse acclamacions, the Emperour issued out of the Theatree, and departed towarde his palaice, haupnge with him Marcus Geminus, al the streetes beyng full of men, women, and chyldren, castíng before him innumerable roses and other swcete floures. The next daye was the Emperours iudgement put in execution, and Geminus admitted into the Senate.

¶ This was the laste iudgement that the emperour gaue openly in his owne person, diuerse other iudgementes he gaue, whiche were in tables accordyng as other emperours vsed to do.

¶ Hitherto is the reporte of Eucolpius, muche more he wrate, as it semed for diuers quaires lacked in the boke. Wherfore to make some perfecte conclusion, I toke the residue out of other, whiche wrate also the life of this emperour.

Hero:

HErodianus a Greeke authour, writeth, that the iourney made against Artaxerxes, the kynge of Persia, was lost through the slaknesse of Alexander, whom he supposeth to be reteined from his enterprise by his mother Mammea: Who wold not lette hir sonne ieoparde his persone against the Persianes: but Lampridius, who gathered his worke out of the bokes of Accolius and Eucolpius, who were alway in companie with the emperour Alexander, writeth in this wyse: He beeyng such an emperour in his house and abrode, he enterprysed the iourney of Parthia, whereunto he prepared all thynges, with suche discipline and reuerence aboute his owne persone, that it mought be sayde, that Senatours went, and not souldiours. Where so euer the hoste was, the chiefe capitaynes were circumspecte, the capitaines honest, the souldiours beloued. And therefore the inhabitauntes of countreys receiued hym as God. The men of warre loued the younge emperour as their brother, their son,

and

and their father. They were honestely cladde, conuenientely horsed, and shodde, richely armed, veryll wel horsed, with harneyse and brydelles accordyngly trymmed, that he whiche beheldе the emperours army, shoulde haue perceiued the state of the weale publyke. He hym selfe labored to be iudged woorthy to haue the name of Alexander, and to surmounte hym of Macedone In suche fourme he went into Persia, and vanquished king Artaxerres, who came agaynste hym with seuen hundred Elephantes bearynge on theyr backes towres of woodde, full of archers and artillery. Also a thousande and fiue hundred charriottes, armed with sythes, and people innumerable. And afterwarde Alexander retourned vnto the citee of Antioche, and with the pray that he toke of the Persians, he made all his men of warre riche.

Than fyrst beganne Persianes, to be slaues to the Romaynes. But because the kynges of Persia dooe disdeigne, that anye of theyr people shall lyue in seruitude, he was

content, that they shulde be redemed: the money beyng geuen to them, whiche toke theim prisoners: Beyng retourned to Rome, was conueighed vnto his palaice with all the Senatours, gentilmen & people, the wiues and chyldren of his souldiours enuyronyng hym, and his triumphall chariot folowyng hym, beynge drawen with foure great Elephantes. And entryng into his palaice, he was lifte vp with the handes of the people, so that during the space of foure houres he mought not walke on his feete, al the people cryenge aboute. Nowe is Rome sauke, for Alexander is saufely retourned.

¶ Afterwarde he liued in moste tender loue of the people and Senate: but at the laste the Germaines, wastyng and destroying the countrey, he beyng ashamed, that the Parthians, nowe beyng vainquisshed, that nacion should preasse so nigh to the heade of the weale publike, whiche people were subdued by petite Emperours: he prepared his voiage towarde thē, and departed against al mens willes,

euery

euery man bryngynge hym a hundred and fifte myles on his waye, with hope of victory; and soone retourne to the citee: but beeynge in fraunce, & findyng the legions seditious, he commanded them to be refected. By whiche occasion the frenche mennes stomakes, as they bee alway obstinate & frowarde, and oftentymes displesaunt vnto the emperours, wolde not suffre any longer his rigorous gouernee.
Wherfore certaine souldiours, whiche were entyched by Heliogabalus, by the comfort and ayde of that monstruous mulettour Maximus, whom they made afterwarde emperour, they sodeinly entryng into the pauilion of Alexander, slewe bothe hym and his mother, he nothyng fearyng theyr malyce,
¶ Other opinions there bee of his deathe. Finally the rage of vntrysty persons, whiche mought not sustaine his excellent vertues, traytorously slewe this moste noble emperour: Whose death all Rome lamented, all good men bewayled, all the

worlde repented, whom the Senate deified, noble fame renoumed, al wise men honoured, noble writers commended. Whose lyke maye worthyly be a paterne to knyghtes, an example to iudges, a myrrour to princes, a beutifull image to all them that are lyke to be gouernours: Wherby they maye haue in continuall remembrance, to imbrace and folowe his moste excellent qualities.

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CD

Richart Howart

Richart Howart

his Booke (1716)